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TWELVE PIONEER MISSIONARIES.

ION KEITH-FALCONER.

Page 204.

TWELVE
PIONEER MISSIONARIES

BY

GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D.

WITH PORTRAITS

"Οὗτοι πάντες μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως".....

"These all, having had witness borne to them through their faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect."

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS
London, Edinburgh, and New York

1900

PREFACE.

THE first century of modern missions has closed. The great societies have commemorated their past by centenary celebrations. The modern imperial spirit, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, at last recognizes their results and co-operates with them, sometimes preparing their way, but more frequently entering through the doors which missionaries have opened.

It is time to recall the names and to perpetuate the deeds of the pioneers. The Twelve here selected belonged to several regiments of the great Catholic army, Anglican and Roman, Presbyterian and Congregational. They were of many races and nationalities—Spaniards, Hollanders, and Swiss; Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen; Brahmans and Parsis. They were of all ranks: two of the twelve were nobles of ancient historic families, four were peasants or handicraftsmen, the rest were of the middle class. One was a woman. Six of the Twelve were scholars

honoured by universities, and some of them by kings also. All save two, who were cut off in the vigour of early manhood, lived and worked without rest till near, or even beyond, threescore and ten. Two were martyrs for the faith; all were confessors and witnesses of the one Master. The methods of all, in the centuries from the thirteenth to the twentieth, were inspired by the one Spirit of Wisdom and Might.

As we enter the twentieth century, let us ever remember that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses. Let us, like them, be witness-bearers.

SERAMPORE HOUSE, EDINBURGH.

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TWELVE PIONEER MISSIONARIES.

I.

RAYMUND LULLI.

(1235–1315.)

SPANISH APOSTLE OF THE LOVE OF CHRIST TO THE MOHAMMEDANS.

RAYMUND LULLI, or Lull, was the Henry Martyn of the Middle Ages. The old Spaniard who was stoned to death by the Mohammedans of North Africa at the age of seventy-nine, early in the fourteenth century, was reproduced in the young man who died to make Christ known to the Mohammedans of Asia early in the nineteenth century. Both were themselves converted to Christ in manhood. Both laid all their fame as men of science at the foot of the Cross. Both experienced the passion of human love in its extremest form, only to be disappointed. Emptied thus of self, both consecrated their whole nature and possessions to the service of the One whom they loved with a burning devotion. Both, with an interval of five centuries

between them, seeing in Islam the great apostasy, the chief antichrist, wrote their books, made their translations, and spent their lives in evangelizing the Mohammedans. To this hour both stand alone in the history of Christendom without a rival or an equal in wisdom and zeal. By Mohammedan and Jew alike Christ is still rejected. The Church still looks in vain for the third apostle who is to take up the mantle that was dropped by Lulli at Bona, and again by Martyn at Tokat.

But Raymund Lulli was a far more remarkable man than the Cornish missionary who burned out for God at thirty. At that age the Spanish noble only began his apostolate, and it lasted for half a century. Lulli had time to develop the many-sided genius which raised him to the first rank at once of the schoolmen, the theologians, the Arabic scholars, and the chemists, as well as the preaching Franciscans and martyrs of his age. If Henry Martyn is the only modern missionary worthy to be placed after him, as yet, there are three great names whom his story suggests in its different stages—Augustine, Francis of Assisi, and Roger Bacon. It was from the same youthful sensuality which the first of the Latin Fathers has crucified in his *Confessions*, nailing his sins of the flesh to the Cross of Christ, that Lulli passed into the Kingdom; and it was close to the ruins of Hippo that Lulli twice preached the Son of God till he was there stoned to death. It was not the stern Dominic, whose spirit still pervades the

Church of Spain, but the loving Francis, then but a few years dead, whose teaching made Lulli the missionary of love to the Moor, the Jew, and the intolerant Christian alike. And Raymund Lulli was at one with the English Roger Bacon, almost his contemporary, not only in the study of physics, but in insisting on "a complete scientific education for missionaries, and particularly in insisting that missions undertaken without any correct ideas of geography and ethnography must prove failures," as Neander writes. Alexander von Humboldt, in his *Cosmos*, authoritatively sums up the character and achievements of this greatest pioneer of missionaries, when he describes him as the singularly ingenious and eccentric man whose doctrines excited the enthusiasm of Giordano Bruno when a boy, and who was at once a philosophical systematizer and an analytic chemist, a skilful mariner* and a successful propagator of Christianity.

In the year 1235, on the twenty-fifth day of January, Ramon or Raymund Lulli was born in Palma to Don Raymund Lulli and Doña Ana de Eril. There his festival is still observed, as the patron of the island of Majorca, on the thirtieth day of June, the day of his death. Seven years before his birth, his father had been foremost in helping the heroic

* In his book, *Fenix de las Maravillas del Orbe*, published in 1286, Lulli remarks that the seamen of his time employed "instruments of measurement, sea-charts, and the magnetic needle." Lulli's own people, the Catalans, made early voyages to the north coast of Scotland and to West Africa. (See *Cosmos*, vol. ii. (Bohn), p. 630.)

James the First of Aragon and Catalonia to drive the Moors out of the rich island; he had been rewarded by two estates in the north, and one in the south-east of the island. His firstborn son became a page of the brave king, who, with Ferdinand the Third of Castile, cleared Valencia also of the Mohammedans reinforced from Tunis, and made Cordova Christian. From the Spanish conquest of the Mohammedans issued the first and greatest missionary to Islam.

The castle of Belbez, near the city of Palma, was renowned as the seat of pleasure, of splendour, and of power. Among the young nobles Raymund Lulli was the foremost, so that he was advanced to be grand seneschal of the court. With boon companions he spent the first thirty years of his life, in the thoughtless licentiousness to which the chivalry of those days gave a delusive sanction. He lived only for love in its lowest form, and he became the poet of that passion. When composing a love sonnet, the image of Christ on the cross, suddenly presenting itself before his eyes, arrested him, and thereafter so persistently haunted him as to seem to him a call to devote himself to the service of Christ. He was encouraged to lay himself on the altar of consecration by the thought: "Christ invites all sinners to Himself; therefore He will not reject *me*, notwithstanding all my sins." In his great work on the *Contemplation of God*, like Augustine in his *Confessions*, Lulli tells more delicately the tale of his earlier life: "I

see, O Lord, that the trees every year bring forth flowers and fruit, by which men are refreshed and nourished; but it is not so with me, a sinner. For thirty years I have borne no fruit in the world; yea, rather, I have injured my neighbours and friends. Now I hope, by Thy grace, my works, contemplations, and wishes relate to glorifying Thee." Like Francis of Assisi, who died just before he was born, and like his remarkable countrymen, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, three centuries after, Raymund Lulli thenceforward lived in the love of God, and bore the message of His love to sinful men.

The life of Raymund Lulli was written with his consent, and probably by a companion of his missionary journeys, as we find it in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The Franciscan annalists, writing a few years after when he joined the Order, record details of his conversion, which he himself doubtless supplied at that time. The vision of the Crucified came to him as he sat one evening, with his cithern on his knees, composing a song in praise of the Doña Ambrosia di Castello, a married lady of Genoa whom he pursued with eager solicitations. Whilst he was watching under her window, the breeze disclosed her throat and bosom, and he at once wrote his verses on the sight. Summoning him to her presence, the lady revealed to him a hideous cancer which was consuming her breast, and then, giving him her hand, pleaded with him to set his affections on the Creator alone, and not on any creature.

A second time the dying Christ appeared to him in vision, and said, "Raymund, follow Me," as he thought. He left the court and his companions, and he sought quietude of soul at Compostella, where he seems to have first planned a mission to the Saracens of North Africa. For this he resolved to prepare himself and Christendom by writing a book to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, and by founding chairs of Arabic and other languages of the infidels in the universities of Europe. But the old passions and habits proved too strong for the new life at the first. Not all at once did he, any more than Augustine, become cleansed. More than three months had passed by since the twice-repeated heavenly vision, when, on the fourth of October, the day of St. Francis, he entered the Franciscan church at Majorca. There he heard the bishop tell the fascinating story, then so fresh and ever new, of the great saint's renunciation of the world. He hesitated no more. Selling all he had, and providing for his wife and two children, he left his home as he believed for ever, determined to carry out the mission to Islam to which Christ Himself had called him.

In solitude and a coarse dress, accompanied only for a time by a Moor, a servant or slave, who taught him Arabic and then attempted his life, Raymund retired for nine years to a cell on Mount La Randa, in the south-east of Majorca. There he lived close to God, receiving spiritual revelations, which find exquisite expression in those works that place him in the front rank of

the mystics. There he preached to the simple and ignorant peasants in their Catalon dialect, composing for them the Catalonian rhymed proverbs and the religious romance *Blanquerna*, which have given this many-sided missionary a high place in the history of early Spanish literature.* There he thought out the philosophy through which he sprang into sudden fame. The love of Christ, in those nine years of preparation, made him, like St. Paul, and like William Carey long after, a new force, stirring to its depths the latent powers of his extraordinary mind, because consecrating all to the one aim of persuading and convincing the Mohammedans to become His.

Raymund Lulli's first success was in inducing the King of Majorca, Rousillon, and Montpelier, James the Second, to found and endow a missionary college. At Miramar, on his old estate, and around his retreat on La Randa hill, embosomed in laurels which gave the mount its name, and overlooking the sea, there arose, in the year 1275, a college of thirteen Frates Minores, under the king's sanction, confirmed afterwards by a bull from Pope John the Twenty-first. There he taught the brothers Arabic and Hebrew, and indoctrinated them in the details of his great "Ars Universalis." There he wrote his two Arabic treatises, *Alchindi* and *Teliph*, to demonstrate the falsity of Islam, and other works, some of which have been lost to us. The college was dissolved long after; but a chapel, dedicated to the Holy Trinity,

* Helfferich: *R. Lull und die Anfänge der Catalonischen Literatur.*

occupied the site of Raymund's cell down to this century. The spot, said still by the peasantry to emit a divine fragrance, must be named and visited by the missionary pilgrim along with Iona, Lindisfarne and Lerins, Canterbury and Serampore.

In his *Blanquerna,** and its supplement, *Blanquerna de Amico et Amato,* in which he delicately veils his own experiences, Raymund reveals himself:—

"While Blanquerna was in his hermitage, he got up at midnight, and, opening the windows of his cell, set himself to contemplate the heavens and the stars. He then proceeded to pray with all the devotion that he could feel, that his soul might rest only in communication with God, and his eyes in tears and mourning. After spending much time in contemplation and weeping, he entered into the church and sounded the bell for matins; and when his deacon came to his assistance, he aided him to perform them, and at daybreak he celebrated mass in a devoted manner, and spoke to his deacon of God, that he might fall in love with God. While both were thus talking of God and His works, they wept together for the great devotion which those reasonings made them feel. The deacon then went to the garden, and employed himself in cultivating the trees that were in it; and Blanquerna, coming out of the church in order to refresh his spirit, already fatigued by the labour that it had undergone, stretched forth his eyes over the mountains and plains. Then, after feeling refreshed,

* Published at Valencia in 1521.

he set to pray and to meditate, and to read the Holy Scriptures, or the grand book of *contemplation*, and thus he remained till the moment arrived for the hours of *terce*, *sixt*, and *none*. At the conclusion of prayer the deacon dressed some herbs and vegetables; and meanwhile Blanquerna directed his steps to the garden, where he employed a few short moments of leisure in cultivating some plants, and in this exercise improved his health. He then dined, and immediately entered alone into the temple to manifest to God his gratitude; he then went out into the garden, and passed on to the fountain, or by those spots which gave him most pleasure, giving himself up, later on, to sleep, in order to gain force to sustain the fatigues of the night. When he was awake, he washed his face and hands, prayed vespers with the deacon, and then remained alone, thinking on what pleased him most, and what most disposed him to enter into prayer. At sunset he went up on to the terrace, and there remained in long meditation, with his spirit devoted, and his eyes fixed on the heavens and on the stars, discoursing on the greatness of God and the evil ways of men. In this state Blanquerna remained till the hour of the first sleep; and so great was the fervour of his contemplation, that even on his bed he appeared to be in mystical intelligence with the Almighty. Thus passed happily the life of Blanquerna, till the people of the district came to visit with devotion and frequency the altar of the most Holy Trinity of that church, and this interrupted

and disturbed the contemplation of Blanquerna; but he, not wishing to prevent their coming there, in order not to chill their devotion, transferred his cell to the height of a neighbouring mountain."

Again he reveals himself in his poems, especially *Desconort*, where, after detailing his conversion, and his resolution to become a missionary of Christ as a service of gratitude, he writes (stanza 55):—

"Hermit, I have already recounted to you the means by which God might be more beloved by men. This is, that the Pope induce many strong men of letters to be willing, for God's sake, to suffer martyrdom, that thus in all the world He might be understood and honoured, and to each of them the gift of language might be revealed, according as was ordained at Miramar (and he knows full well in his heart who caused *that* to fail), and that they may journey abroad with all the graces that the clergy and bishops possess, and so continue till the Holy Sepulchre be taken. A book on this point is already in order."

His missionary methods were remarkable for that time. First of all, led by the spirit of the Schoolmen to whom he belonged, he sought in philosophy the most effectual means to convince the world of the divine truth of Christianity. As Carey and Duff in later days used Western truth in the English and vernacular languages to confute heathen systems of religion, and as Schwartz and Henry Martyn, Pfander and John Wilson, held disputations with learned Orientals, after the manner of Paul in the

school of Tyrannus, so Raymund Lulli in the thirteenth century devised his Lullian Art, or logical method, to prove that revealed religion is in agreement with the nature of the human mind, and that therefore all men should accept it on irrefragable evidence. He conceived that such a demonstration of the truth of Christianity should win the Mohammedans to the Christian faith. He induced his friend, Thomas Aquinas, to write his famous missionary *Summary against the Gentiles* on the same lines. We now appeal to the internal evidences of Christianity; our fathers, notably Dr. Chalmers back to Grotius, used the external evidences. Lulli, schoolman-like, applied the logical evidences. The Spirit of God has blessed all three at different times—specially the internal. The learned of his own day applauded him as a philosopher, and applied his method to things purely secular. But he himself thought only of his Christ-commanded mission. In his introduction to the *Necessaria Demonstratio Articulorum Fidei*, he writes: "Raymundus thinks that if he but succeeds in refuting all the Saracen objections to Christianity, then, since they would not be able to refute his arguments in defence of Christian truth, their learned men and sages must of necessity become Christians."

Issuing in 1274 from his nine years' retirement and preparation, thus inspired and equipped, Raymund Lulli made a tour of the universities and courts of Europe, to propagate his opinions and call forth

permanent support for his mission. At Montpelier, and for a time at Paris, he won for himself the name of the "Illuminated Doctor." Encouraged by the approval of Europe, he translated his *Ars Magna* * into Arabic, and then gave himself to his second missionary task—that of training spiritual crusaders for the conversion of Islam by founding colleges for the study of Arabic. This also finds its modern parallels in the educational missions and evangelistic lectureships of Carey and Duff, Wilson and Bishop Valpy French. The Crusades had failed alike as political and Christian enterprises. Monachism was beginning to manifest the corruption which culminated in the Reformation of Luther. In some of his most eloquent appeals (in Latin) to the successive popes and sov-

* "The clue to the *Ars Magna* is combination. Every science has its own principles; there are also general principles, applicable generally to all science; and in the general principles common to all science the separate principles are contained, as the special is contained in the universal. Through the general we find our way into the special and separate. Lulli discovers in the universe generally nine subjects—God, Angel, Heaven, Man, the Imaginative Principle, the Sensitive, the Negative, the Elementary, and the Instrumental; nine Absolute Predicates, which he arranges in a circle—Goodness, Magnitude, Duration, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, Truth, and Glory; and nine Relative Predicates arranged in three triangles—Difference, Concord, Contrariety, Beginning, Middle, End, Majority, Equality, Minority. To these he adds ten questions—Whither? What? Whence? Why? How Large? Of What Kind? When? Where? How? With What? Each Subject, Predicate, and Question is represented by a letter of the alphabet. Truth is sought by questions and found by answers. By a dexterous combination of these figures an infinite number of questions may be asked; and if the Art has been properly mastered, they must be correctly answered. But without the three friends, Subtlety of Intellect, Reason, and Good Intention, no one can master the Art; and the failure of those who find it impossible to follow Lulli through the intricacies of his method must be attributed to the absence of one of the three. With rare generosity, Lulli fully reckoned on meeting them all among his infidel adversaries."

ereigns of his day, Lulli called for an ordinance "that the monks should learn various languages, that they might be able to go out and surrender their lives in love to Thee." Again—"Monks of holy lives and great wisdom should form institutions in order to learn various languages, and to be able to preach to unbelievers." His own king, James of Majorca, did found a convent for the instruction of Franciscans in Arabic, and the Council of Vienne decreed that Oriental professorships be instituted in the Universities of Oxford, Paris, and Salamanca. He anticipated the Jesuits in urging two successive popes to found the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which Gregory the Fifteenth first established in 1622, long after.

But as a man fired with the enthusiasm of humanity in its divinest form, Raymund Lulli stood alone, as Francis had done in the generation before him. Europe rang with the praises of his philosophic art, but remained irresponsive to his missionary appeals. The evidences of Christianity and the knowledge of languages are splendid weapons only when they are wielded by a true apostle, determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified. Such was Lulli.

Having written his second great spiritual treatise *On the Discovery of Truth*, he put in practice the third and greatest of missionary methods, which we may call "Love to the Death," like Henry Martyn's and Livingstone's and Ion Keith-Falconer's long after.

This is how he described it: "Of all methods of converting unbelievers and reconquering the Holy Land this is the easiest and speediest, which is most congenial to love, and is so much mightier than all other kinds and methods in the proportion that spiritual weapons are more effective than carnal ones."

Disappointed by pope and sovereign alike, Raymund Lulli went forth alone as the one missionary to the Mohammedans. In his fifty-fifth year, in 1291, after hesitating for a time at Genoa, he sailed for Tunis, full of ardour, strong in body after sore sickness caused by mental conflict, and filled with the peace that passeth understanding. Inviting the Mullahs to the discussion of Christianity, as defended by his arguments and proved by his method, he declared that if he found the reasons for Mohammedanism to be the stronger he would embrace Islam. The Mullahs expected an easy victory, especially on the two doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God. Without these, he showed, men cannot understand the perfection of God and the harmony between His attributes. His argument for the doctrine of the Trinity is still of interest.* Such was the persuasive effect of his burning zeal, as in the

* "Without the doctrine of the Trinity we should be driven to suppose an eternal creation; otherwise, we must detract from the idea of God's perfection. The goodness of God cannot be conceived as inoperative; but without the doctrine of the Trinity we should be compelled to represent it to ourselves as being so until the creation. Self-communication belongs to the very essence of the highest goodness. This can be conceived as a perfect act only in the doctrine of the Trinity."

case of Henry Martyn among the Sufis and Mujtahids of Shiraz long after, that the leading Maulvi of Tunis represented to the ruler the danger to Islam of allowing the Christian to continue the controversy. He was cast into prison till he could be sent out of the country. Resolving to return, he meanwhile sought to evangelize Majorca itself, then Cyprus, then Armenia. After again summoning the universities of Europe * to such a mission to the people of Africa as David Livingstone has called forth in our day, he returned thither and settled in the city of Bugia or Bona. Here the mob rose against the man who attacked their Prophet, and he again found himself in prison for six months, where he wrote an *Apology* for Christianity, and sent it to the authorities. His second ejection led the rich citizens of Pisa and of Genoa to subscribe, at his eloquent appeal, that he might return a third time, in 1315, to the converts he had made. Undaunted, he stood once more in the

* It was at Paris, on this tour, that he is said to have made the acquaintance of Duns Scotus, at one of whose lectures he murmured disapproval of an argument. Looking round, the Subtle Doctor spied the offender in the corner, and thus challenged him: "Dominus quae pars?" To which the Illuminated Doctor promptly replied: "Dominus non est pars, sed est totum." The two became fast friends, and Raymund wrote his book *Dominus quae Pars?*

To the Council of Vienne (near Avignon), convoked by Clement the Fifth in 1311 to discuss the Order of the Templars and their abuses, he went full of hope that he would induce the more than three hundred archbishops and bishops to do three things—to found missionary colleges; to unite all the military orders into one brotherhood for the spiritual conquest of Islam and the Holy Land; and to forbid the use in the schools of the books of Averroes, the Mohammedan translator of Aristotle, who had died a century before in Morocco. To the first and third requests the Council agreed, but the Order of the Templars was abolished. Raymund thereupon wrote his *De Participatione Christianorum et Saracenorum.*

streets of Bugia, and summoned the people to repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. It is a pathetic yet brave sight—a parallel to Francis in the presence of Saladin—this old missionary of seventy-eight, once the lustful seneschal and poet of a dissolute Spanish court, preaching in Arabic to the Mohammedans the love of Christ, as Stephen did to the Pharisees of Jerusalem. His fate was the same. Stoned till he seemed to be dead, friendly hands carried his body to a ship in the harbour which was about to sail for his native shore. He is said to have recovered for a moment to testify to Him whose love had saved him as it had purified the Magdalene.

A word must be said of Raymund Lulli as the alchemist. Here, too, he had but one passion, for the Stone is to be found only by the divinely illuminated, as he is said to have found it. When at Montpelier Lulli made the acquaintance of the famous Arnauld de Villeneuve, who introduced him to the Secret of transmuting metals, found only by the pure in heart.

The fact is undoubted, and its interest lies not only in the literature of the subject, but in the invitation of King Edward the Second to Lulli to come to England, and lodge in Westminster Abbey. That he did this is probable, from his allusion to the visit in his *Testamentum*, received by some as authentic, and his *Book of Experiments*. He loved knowledge, but he was too shrewd to say more of alchemy than this, in his

De Mirabilibus Orbis, that what alchemists produce is only something like gold. To those who seek fortune in the crucible he applies one of his early Catalonian proverbs—"Better a penny in the pocket than a pound in the pot." The story of John Cremer, Abbot of Westminster, who brought Lulli to England, tempting him with the hope of winning over the king to lead a new crusade for the salvation of the Mohammedans, is of value only as another proof of the singleness of heart and aim which marked the great missionary in the opinion of his contemporaries.

The magnificent and widespread reputation of Raymund Lulli in the fourteenth century, and even till the middle of the eighteenth, is seen in the collection and editing of his writings, and of the many books ascribed to his pen.

Eight printed folio pages of the Catalogue of the British Museum Library are covered with the titles of the works of the great schoolman-missionary, and of books concerning him. The edition of the collected works published at Moguntia (Mainz) by Mayer in 1721 is unique. "J. C.," in a memorandum on the flyleaf of the first volume, writes: "Of this edition I can trace no other copy in any public or private library in this country. The seventh and eighth volumes were never published, and nearly every copy of the others was lost by a fire. The rarity of these eight volumes is excessive." The following is the general title-page:—

BEATI
RAYMUNDI
LULLI
DOCTORIS ILLUMINATI
ET
MARTYRIS
OPERA

Quinque Saeculorum Vicissitudinibus
Illaesa et Integra Servata
Ex omnibus Terrarum Orbis partibus jam collecta, recognita a mendis purgata et in unum corpus adunata, in quibus ipsemet B. Author exponit admirandam et non humana industria sed superno lumine acquisitam Scientiam Scientiarum et Artem Artium, a non paucis in vanum impugnatam, a multis laudabiliter investigatam, et ex parte inventam, a nemine vero ad supremum perfectionis apicem nisi a solo Divo Authore perductam
in qua
Deus et Creatura, Infinitum et Finitum
Miro modo confluunt in unum Opus Sapientiae et Scientiae
Sapientibus et Prudentibus hujus Saeculi absconditum
Parvulis autem revelatum et manifestum

Cum Privilegio Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis
et Permissu Superiorum.

This edition has, with other figures and illustrations, a fine full-length portrait of the missionary writing his *Ars Generalis*, and looking up to a crucifix while he utters, "O Bonitas!" and a halo encircles his head. The painter is J. F. Douben, and the engraver D. Rossetti. A life and chronological list of his one hundred and forty works, written from 1285 to 1315, with much more explanatory matter, is given. The testimonies of illustrious men and writers to the value of his writings and character cover fifty-two folio pages. The edition is a treasury of Lulli and a worthy monument of the missionary-philosopher. His treatise *De Gentili et Tribus Sapientibus* proves his careful preparation, by study and zeal, for his

mission to the Mohammedans. The fourth book, *De Fide Saracenorum*, is a masterly summary for that time. His debate with the Saracen Hamar, covering forty-seven folio pages, reminds one of the controversial writings of Henry Martyn and John Wilson, Dr. Pfander and Rev. Imad-ood-deen, D.D.

The Genoese merchants who carried the body of Raymund Lulli to his native city were welcomed by the people of Palma. In solemn procession the embalmed remains were borne to the family chapel in St. Eulalia's Church. But he had belonged to the third order of St. Francis, so the Franciscans claimed his body, and laid it in a side chapel of their church.* There a Capuchin friar, when saying mass one morning, rediscovered it. On a wooden image, well carved and coloured, he saw the words inscribed, "Beatus R. Lullius;" and below, the triangular device of three lighted torches with the motto, "Dominus Illuminatio Mea." The body is now enshrined† in the

* In the circumstances of their burial, as in their life for the people of Africa, Lulli and Livingstone strangely resemble each other. In 1611 the body of the Spanish missionary was exhumed, that it might be identified for the rite of canonization. The doctors reported traces of four blows on the head, two of them from stones, and two sword-cuts, besides blows on the rest of the body. On the destruction of the Dominican convent at Palma, in a book called *Ars Metaphysicalis* was found inserted the "Officium Gloriosi et Sanctissimi Martyris Magistri Raymundi Lullii." The best popular sketch of Lulli, as man and writer, appeared in *The Dublin University Magazine* for July 1871, signed L. Hailstone, jun., who writes: "Though Dr. Chalmers says his works are not worth reading, he was a remarkable man and a benefactor to mankind."

† In Volume VII. of the *Acta Sanctorum*, published at Paris and Rome in 1867, are three folio engravings symbolical of his sevenfold gifts, and representing the "Mausoleum Insigne," wherewith the senate and people of Majorca have honoured their patron saint and martyr.

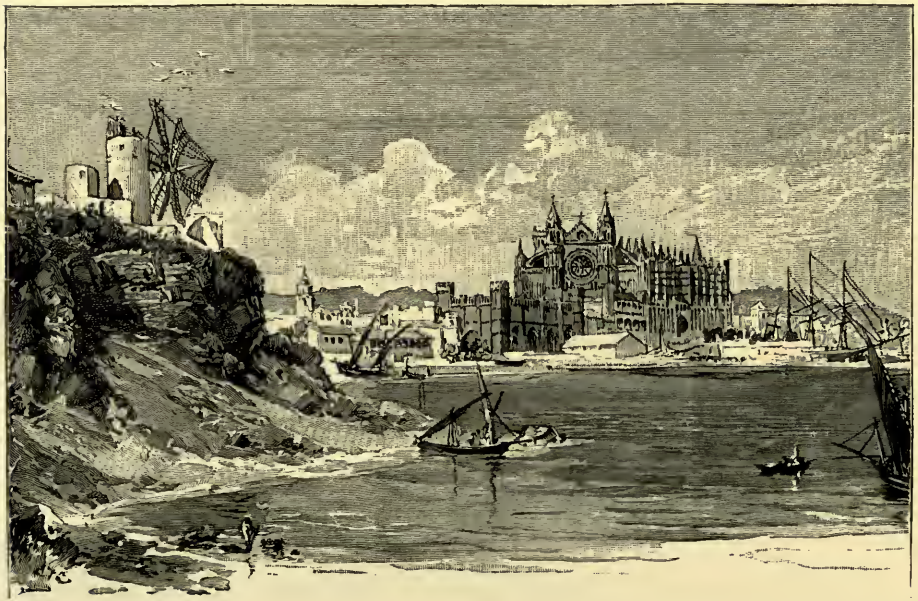
Cathedral of Palma. Half a century after his death the process of his canonization at Rome was arrested by a Dominican inquisitor, who discovered so many heresies in his writings, from the Roman point of view, that Pope Paul the Fourth placed his works in the *Index*. The Renascence restored him to orthodoxy so far that the Council of Trent gladly used the miraculous legends of his later story to buttress the church. His countrymen in Majorca cite Pope Leo the Tenth as their authority for observing his festival every thirtieth day of June.

What Goethe wrote of Reuchlin, a later marvel of learning and truth-seeking, may well be said of Lulli—

> "Wer will sich ihm vergleichen?
> Zu seiner Zeit ein Wunderzeichen."

May he live for us more and more in his successors, who, since Georg Schmidt and John Vanderkemp, Krapf and Rebmann, Peter Greig, Ross and Livingstone went to Africa in these later days, have not counted their lives dear unto them that the gospel of God may be made known throughout the dark continent! *Raymund Lulli's Great Elixir*, an anonymous dramatic poem, published by Pickering in 1869, closes with these words in the missionary-alchemist's lips:—

> "Then hence! seek out the lands that lie in darkness,
> And give thyself alone, for light! O Lord,
> I thank Thee for Thy gift of endless days.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The Spirit calleth me—I know not whither!
> To work some holy work—I know not where!"



PALMA AND ITS CATHEDRAL.

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Raymund Lulli was the Augustine of the thirteenth century; at the close of the nineteenth he still yields an example and a stimulus, which may be summed up in these words from his own great book: "He who loves not lives not; he who lives by the Life cannot die."

The latest visitor to Palma describes the city of Raymund Lulli as it was on Christmas Eve 1898:—

"Palma is a city of about 60,000 inhabitants, beautiful indeed for situation, washed by the blue waters of the Mediterranean, and protected by the rugged, purple mountains that rise behind the town to a height of from 5,000 to 7,000 feet. There are numerous fine churches, and a massive cathedral, dating from the thirteenth century. From the top of the high tower a splendid view was obtained of the city and the surrounding district. The whole place is, of course, given up to Romanism, and is under the rule of Spain. As far as I am aware, there is no evangelical work there except a small effort of the Wesleyans, and even this appears to be suspended just now.

"The outward and material beauty of this lovely spot is in strong contrast with the inward moral and spiritual darkness. Our hearts yearned for the Light of the World to be known there. As we visited one of the churches, that of San Francisco, we found there a memorial to Raymund Lulli. One was stirred afresh at the memory of such a one, in whom the light and love of the gospel burned so brightly in

the thirteenth century. Lulli! the Augustine of the Middle Ages, saint, scholar, philosopher, and missionary, yea, and martyr too. He awoke from the sleep of sin, arose from the dust of death; on him Christ shined and gave him light. Then followed study, research, and prayer, ending in the journeys to preach Christ to the Moslems of Tunis and Algeria, where, after noble testimony given, and souls won from Islam, the aged apostolic man fell a victim to Moslem hatred of the gospel. And they stoned Raymund Lulli calling upon Christ. After the lapse of six centuries we stood on his native shore, about to travel to Tunis as he did, to find it still, as he did then, fast bound in the awful bondage of Islam, though, thank God, there are now rays of gospel light. As we travel his path we pray, 'O God, to us may grace be given to follow in his train.'"

These passages from the genuine writings of the missionary-mystic have an abiding power and beauty, especially in the original Latin:—

"Let Christians, consumed with a burning love for the cause of faith, but consider that since nothing has power to withstand the truth, which by the strength of arguments is mighty over all things, they can, with God's help and by His might, bring back the infidels to the way of faith. Thus the precious name of our Lord Jesus, which is in most regions of the world still unknown to men, may be proclaimed and adored."

"As my book (*Ars Magna*) was finished on the vigils of John the Baptist, who was the herald of the light, and with his finger pointed to Him who is the True Light, so may it please our Lord Jesus Christ to kindle a new light of the world which may guide unbelievers to their conversion, that they, with us, may go forth to meet the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and praise, world without end."

"A true servant of Christ, who has experienced the truth of the Catholic faith, ought not to be appalled by the fear of death when he may lead souls to salvation."

"I had a wife and children; I was tolerably rich; I led a secular life. All these things I cheerfully resigned for the sake of promoting the common good and diffusing the holy faith. I learned Arabic; I have several times gone abroad to preach the gospel to the Saracens; I have for the sake of the faith been cast into prison and scourged; I have laboured forty-five years to gain over the shepherds of the church and princes of Europe to the common good of Christendom. Now I am old and poor, but still I am intent on the same object. I will persevere in it till death, if the Lord Himself permits it."

"Thy servant would choose, if it please Thee, not to die a natural death; he would prefer that his life should end in the glow of love, as Thou didst, in love, offer up Thy life for us."

"Thy servant is ready to offer up himself and to pour out his blood for Thee. May it please Thee,

therefore, ere he comes to die, so to unite him to Thyself that he, by meditation and love, may never be separated from Thee."

"Lord of heaven, Father of all times, when Thou didst send Thy Son to take upon Him human nature, He and His apostles lived in outward peace with Jews, Pharisees, and other men. Of this peace they availed themselves to bring the erring to the knowledge of the truth and to a communion of spirit with themselves. And so, after Thy example, should Christians conduct themselves towards the Saracens."

"Elevate thy knowledge, and thy love will be elevated. Heaven is not so lofty as the love of a holy man. The more thou wilt labour to rise upward, the more shalt thou rise upward."

"The Christians lend no aid to the conversion of the Mohammedans; hence it comes to pass that for one Saracen who becomes a Christian, ten Christians and more become Mohammedans. It becomes those in power to consider what the end will be of such a state of things. God will not be mocked."

"O Thou true Light of all lights, as Thy grace through the true faith has enriched Christians before unbelievers, so they are bound to demonstrate the true faith to unbelievers. But since we, O Lord, are occupied with vain things, we forget our obligation to love *unbelievers*, to help them, and to guide them, since through our fault they remain blind in the darkness of unbelief. Hence they will accuse us to Thee, O Lord, at the day of judgment."

"If the churches of wood and stone and earth are beautiful, the Holy Church, which consists of the souls of just Catholic men, would be far more beautiful if there were men acquainted with different languages who would go through the earth, that unrighteous and unbelieving men might become praisers of Thy glorious Trinity, and of Thy blessed humanity, and of Thy painful passion."

"Often I have sought Thee on the crucifix, and my bodily eyes could not find Thee there. I have sought thee with the eyes of my soul, and by thinking and remembering my soul has found Thee; and as soon as I found Thee my heart began to grow warm with the glow of love, and my eyes to shed tears, and my mouth to praise Thee."

"All gold is not to be compared with a sigh of holy desire."

"Desire, and thou wilt live."

II.

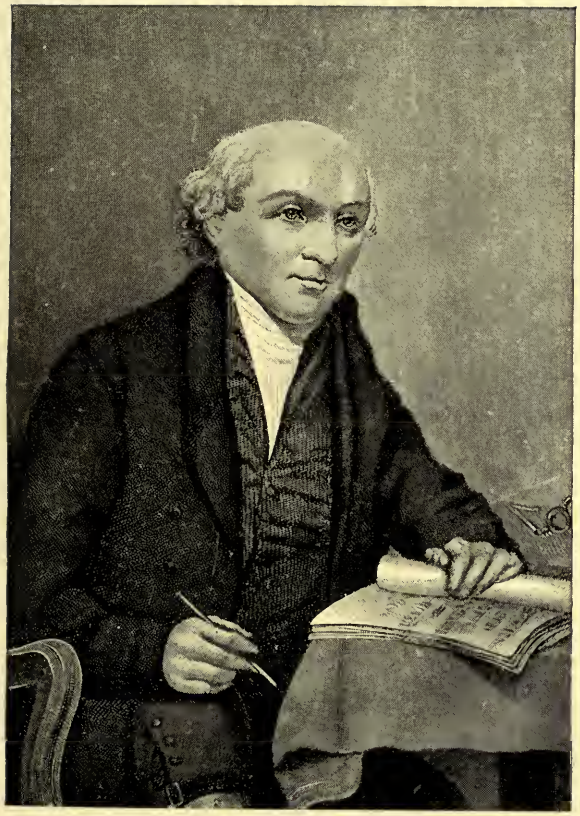
WILLIAM CAREY.

(1761–1834.)

ENGLISH FOUNDER OF THE MODERN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

FOUR centuries and a half span the history of Christendom from the death of Raymund Lulli to the birth of William Carey, in 1761, in the obscure English village of Paulerspury. The world was waiting, unconsciously but not the less really, for the event when, in 1792, Carey founded his Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.

1. The time was the third of three epochs, when the human race made a distinct leap upward. The first of these was in the years B.C. 55 to A.D. 51, in the former of which Julius Cæsar landed in Great Britain, and in the latter, St. Paul, the apostle of the nations, passed from Asia into Greece. Europe, and particularly the English-speaking peoples, then entered on the missionary career which has made them the guides of the dark races to Christ. 2. The second of these new-birth times of the race was from 1492 to 1534, when Columbus revealed America; India was opened up to Europe; Erasmus gave to his age



WILLIAM CAREY, AT FIFTY.

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the New Testament in the original Greek, with a Latin translation of his own; and Luther published the vernacular Bible, which is in every land "The Great Missionary." Europe thus Christianized, and its churches anew vitalized by the living oracles of God—a double process which occupied eighteen centuries—had not begun its appointed duty, as the chosen servant of the Lord, of evangelizing the world, which lay in dumb helplessness and pathetic need. 3. The third epoch, covering the years 1779–1792, is marked by the names of two men, William Carey and George Washington. In 1779 the former, a journeyman cobbler, eighteen years of age, began to pray every day, and to work for the salvation of the heathen and the freedom of the slaves; in 1792 his prayers were answered in the first defeat of the slave-traders by the English Parliament, and in the foundation of the society which sent him forth, the first Englishman of modern times, to give the gospel to the peoples of Asia. In 1782 George Washington's work had been accepted by Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris; and the United States of America, independent for ever, became the second great factor in the evangelizing of the world. The same epoch was that of the French Revolution. On its secular side an eruptive force which has not yet spent its influence, it was divorced from religion; while the American Revolution was saturated with the salt of Christianity by its Puritan fathers. On the spiritual side the French Revolution was the foe of the missionary enterprise, becoming to

the new Christian revival much that the apostasy of Julian had vainly hoped to be to the Pauline apostolate, and all that the Mohammedan apostasy has been to the churches of Chrysostom, Nestorius, and Augustine.

THE THREE NEW BIRTH EPOCHS.

B.C. 55—A.D. 51.	A.D. 1492–1534.	A.D. 1779–1792.
JULIUS CÆSAR opened Great Britain, the missionary centre of English-speaking world-rulers. PAUL revealed Christ to the West through Greece. The NEW TESTAMENT Revelation at work.	COLUMBUS opened America, and India followed. ERASMUS and LUTHER reformed the church and gave the world a vernacular Bible as "The Great Missionary," basing all on the Nicene Creed of the Church, Apostolic and Catholic.	WASHINGTON made the United States the second missionary centre. WILLIAM CAREY prayed for slaves and heathen, and became the first English missionary and Bible translator for Asia, during the Apostasy of the French Revolution.

We see the Lord's leisure working through the first two epochs slowly, because the faith of the Church was so weak, its love so little, its obedience so fitful. We who are entering the second century of the third epoch are the children of the men who saw William Carey and upheld his hands, who caught his spirit and created the missionary organizations of the present day. The world is older and needier, and salvation is nearer than when first we believed. Are we, in the opening years of the new century, to rest content without proving the other side of God's eternity—the Lord's haste: "One day is as a thousand years"?

This was the position of the founder of modern

missions in relation to the history of the world and of the Church of Christ. Not less distinct was it as to the literature of the English language, which, by preaching and teaching, by translating and printing, he was to anticipate all others in giving to Southern Asia. He came from a corner of the Midlands in which the poet of nature and of Christian philanthropy had found a refuge. As a lad he studied theology, and learned to lead the prayers of Christian men and women under Sutcliff, in Olney, not a stone's-throw from the Orchard House of William Cowper and Mrs. Unwin. It was in writing his sixty-eight Olney Hymns that Cowper's genius recognized itself. It was in the seven years from 1780–86 that he poured forth his *Progress of Error*, his *Truth*, his *Table Talk*, his *Expostulation*, his *Hope*, his *Charity*, his *Conversation*, his *Retirement*, and then *The Task*, which placed him for ever in the rare position of the poet's poet, so that Mrs. Browning sang at his grave:

"O poets, from a maniac's tongue was poured the deathless singing!
O Christians, at your cross of hope a hopeless band was clinging!
O men, this man in brotherhood your weary paths beguiling,
Groaned inly while he taught you peace, and died while ye were smiling!"

Cowper heads the procession of the century's poets and prose writers with his hymns of self-surrender, his strains of hope, his trumpet-call for the slave, his praise of the evangelicals whom the world despised, his assertion of the right of every man to know the love of God in Christ.

If the world was waiting for such a man as William

Carey, the church was asleep. In England the Wesleys and Whitefield, in Scotland the "Marrow" divines and Secession fathers, in South India such workers as Schwartz, in ice-bound America and the West Indies the devotion of the Moravian Brethren, had led Cowper to sing of the first echo of gospel-preaching:—

> "That sound bespeaks salvation on its way,
> The triumph of a life-restoring day;
> 'Tis heard where England's Eastern glory shines,
> And in the gulfs of her Cornubian mines,
> And still it spreads."

When Carey himself, four years after, wrote his survey of the religious state of the world, the only names of what would now be called foreign missionaries that he could give were, Mr. Eliot of New England, so long before as 1632; Mr. David Brainerd, who did not live long enough to dispense with an interpreter; Mr. Kirkland and Mr. Sergeant. John Wesley is named as having "lately made an effort in the West Indies;" but a generation was to pass before the Methodists, who had a missionary of some foresight in Coke, were to follow the example of Carey's Society, about 1817. Not an Englishman could be found to be sent forth by the Church Missionary Society till the same year. The Church of Scotland heard foreign missions denounced as preposterous by a minister whom it raised to the chair of Moderator of its General Assembly; while Dr. John Erskine, the friend of Sir Walter Scott and correspondent of Carey, was one of the few who protested against such blasphemy. Carey stood alone.

He took the thirteen long years of his early manhood —from 1779, when he began to pray, to 1792—to convince twelve ministers and laymen of the Northamptonshire Union, while to the last he failed to move the Baptist leaders in London to do anything. He found sympathizers rather in Church of England evangelicals like John Newton, Charles Simeon, and Haweis of Oldwinkle; in Anglo-Indians like Charles Grant and the Clapham men, whom he influenced; and in the ministers and elders of Scottish Presbyterianism, who worked outside of the church, or, like the Haldanes, left it in disgust. Andrew Fuller, when he was roused by the missionary enterprise from that spiritual lethargy of which he complained, was the best colleague and secretary ever an evangelist had; but he was slow to convince at the first. The elder Ryland publicly rebuked the "young man" who had dared to suggest that these poor Midland Baptists should ever discuss the duty of converting the world. The one friend Carey had was the "seraphic" Pearce of Birmingham, and he was dying of hereditary disease, else he might have accompanied him to Bengal.

When these men did become his coadjutors, they were generous and humble enough; nor was his stronger colleague in the work in Serampore, Dr. Joshua Marshman, less so as they reviewed the wonderful history long after. What did Andrew Fuller write as the very first words of No. 1 of the *Periodical Accounts*, when he published a narrative of the first

establishment of the society? "The origin of this society will be found in the workings of our brother Carey's mind, which for the last nine or ten years has been directed to this object with very little intermission. His heart appears to have been set on the conversion of the heathen before he came to reside at Moulton in 1786." But Carey's favourite sister carries back his concern for the millions ignorant of Jesus Christ almost to the time of his conversion; when, having given himself, he must needs save others. His wife's sister, who accompanied them to India, "was witness to the extreme anxiety of Mr. Carey on the subject" long before any steps were thought of for establishing a foreign mission. She gives us the significant picture of the young shoemaker, her father's apprentice and successor, "standing motionless for an hour or more in the middle of a path in the garden, abstracted from outward objects by the 'working' of a mind that had begun to devote itself to a vast and newly contemplated project."

This originality of William Carey under the opposition of the learning and the ecclesiasticism of his time must be understood, not only that justice may be done to the most modest of men, but that we may see the direct operation of the Spirit of God, who called him, as the Master had called to the Divine apostolate the fishermen and the tax-gatherer of Galilee. Like Daniel, he "was greatly beloved," and, like Cornelius, who "prayed to God alway," it was said of him by the heavenly watchers, "Behold, he prayeth!"

Not even in the Scriptures is there a clearer case of a providential call through prayer to a world-wide enterprise than the Carey chapter of the past century's continuation of the Acts of the Apostles. Let us look at it.

Three times in the opening third of the eighteenth century the British people in the United Kingdom and in America observed the first national prayer-concert on record—in 1712, at the critical juncture which ended in the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover; in 1732, and again in 1735. The two last prayer-concerts were observed in Scotland, with the result that in 1742 great revivals of religion quickened the ministers and people of its western counties. The ministers who had received the new light resolved to make the union perpetual, and to extend it all over Great Britain and America as a foreign mission union. They called it a "concert to promote more abundant application to a duty that is perpetually binding—*prayer that our God's Kingdom may come, joined with praises.*" The time was every Saturday evening and Sunday morning, and more solemnly on the first Tuesday of every quarter, beginning with February 1746. The memorial was sent to Jonathan Edwards, A.M., then "minister of the gospel in Northampton, New England," and five hundred copies were distributed in almost every county in what was then known as the Massachusetts Bay, and in other provinces. The year after Jonathan Edwards wrote, and five Boston ministers published,

with a preface, *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, Pursuant to Scripture Promises and Prophecies Concerning the Last Time.* The five ministers declined to be bound by Edwards's "ingenious observations on the prophecies," but added, "If such a terrible time is coming in Europe, which we, in defending America, are likely to share in, the more need we have of joining in earnest and constant prayers for extraordinary suffering graces for ourselves and others." The American and French Revolutions more than justified the watchful instincts of the man who, as saint and thinker, was without a rival in any land.

The pentecostal spirit that breathed from Scottish Cambuslang to New England's Northampton, was wafted back again by prayer to "Northampton in Old England." In 1784 the association of Baptist ministers and messengers in the counties of Northampton, Leicester, etc., meeting at Nottingham, resolved on the first Monday evening in every calendar month to pray for the general revival and spread of religion. January 21, 1788, was kept as a private fast in John Ryland's study, when, as his diary records, "Brethren Fuller, Sutcliff, Carey, and I..... each prayed twice—Carey with singular enlargement and pungency. Our chief design was to implore a revival of the power of godliness in our own souls, in

our churches, and in the church at large." To Warwickshire and Yorkshire, and among Catholic Christians, the concert spread, till, on May 4, 1789, John Sutcliff sent forth from Olney his reprint of the work of Jonathan Edwards. Carey had been baptized in the Nene at Northampton, below Doddridge's meeting-house, in 1783, and had anticipated Ryland and Sutcliff by a year in his praying for the whole world. When he published his now famous *Inquiry*, he declared that the eight years' concert of prayer had led to the opening of lands to missions, the spread of civil and religious liberty, and the noble effort made to abolish the inhuman slave-trade. But he added what, up to that time, no English-speaking Christian, not even Edwards, had attempted: "Suppose a company of serious Christians, ministers, and private persons, were to form themselves into a society?"

Prayer was the expecting of great things from God; the society, and Carey's going forth to India as its first missionary, was the attempting great things for God. At Nottingham, on May 31, 1792, after publishing his *Inquiry*, he preached from Isaiah liv. 2, 3, the great sermon which so clearly proved "the criminality of our supineness in the cause of God," as Ryland confessed, that Fuller and he both yielded. At Kettering, on October 2, 1792, the ministers' meeting founded Carey's Society of members, subscribing £10 at once, or 10s. 6d. annually, with this committee of five, three to be empowered to act—John Ryland, Reynold Hogg (treasurer), Will-

iam Carey, John Sutcliff, and Andrew Fuller (secretary).

Thus, by catholic prayer, Scotland began, New England continued, and the English shoemaker, William Carey, by his society, completed the modern missionary enterprise of 1792. Where was he to begin?

The same hand which guided Columbus to America when he set out for India, led William Carey to India when he had desired to go to Tahiti. So, three-quarters of a century later, David Livingstone determined to be a medical missionary to the Chinese, but God kept him for Africa. When Carey was mastering seven languages, as he sat in his cobbler's stall at Hackleton and Moulton, or among his flowers and birds opposite his chapel in Harvey Lane, Leicester, the surgeon of an East Indiaman, John Thomas, was rudely trying to convert the natives of Calcutta and Bengal. He had no scholarship, and little common sense, but he yearned for the souls of men, and in his three voyages he had learned the local facts. Filled with these, he met Carey, when they embraced each other with tears of joy, and Bengal was chosen as the scene of the mission. Carey and Thomas went forth, two together, one an ordained and the other a medical missionary, with their families, and £150 a year between them, to win to Christ the Hindus and Mohammedans, first of a Province in which these now number eighty millions, then of all Northern, Central, and Western India, and then of the half of Asia,

from the Gulf of Persia to the Yellow Sea of China. While we thank God for Carey's faith and love, which the delays of twelve years had only intensified, let us not blame the thirteen ministers who, at Kettering, subscribed £13, 2s. 6d. wherewith this mighty enterprise was begun.* As with a few loaves and fishes the Son of Man fed the multitudes of His day again and again in the wilderness, so the Risen Lord and Reigning King multiplied the first mites then cast into His treasury, till before he died Carey saw them grow to £400,000 a year. And now, after a century, we reckon them at £3,250,000 a year, and count that all too small. Carey's minimum for "every person" was 10s. 6d. a year, which these poor struggling ministers more than doubled at starting; and if every communicant of the evangelical churches had given even the minimum in the last hundred years, there would not be a thousand millions of human beings alive who know not Christ. It was the poor of Christ's flock who sent forth the first English-

* This is the ever memorable list of the pioneer subscribers:—

John Ryland, Northampton	£2	2	0
Reynold Hogg, Thrapstone	2	2	0
John Sutcliff, Olney	1	1	0
Andrew Fuller, Kettering	1	1	0
Abraham Greenwood, Oakham	1	1	0
Edward Sharman, Cottesbrook	1	1	0
Joshua Burton, Foxton	0	10	6
Samuel Pearce, Birmingham	1	1	0
Thomas Blundell, Arnsby	0	10	6
William Heighton, Road	0	10	6
John Eyres, Braybrook	0	10	6
Joseph Timms, Kettering	1	1	0
A Contributor, name not recorded (Carey?)	0	10	6

speaking missionaries, and who have supported their successors all through the century. It is still the comparatively poor who raise every year the three and a quarter millions sterling administered by the missionary churches and societies.

William Carey was thirty-three years of age when, on November 10, 1793, he landed at Calcutta, and began there the forty-one years of his missionary career. After months of poverty and hardship, causing misery to his wife which soon affected her reason, yet himself ever working for his Master among the natives, Carey found himself nominally an indigo planter in the service of the godly Bengal civilian of Malda, George Udny, of a famous Scots family, on £250 a year. No apprenticeship could have been better than the seven years which he spent among the Hindus of the district now known as Dinajpore. He had been ejected from the East India Company's ship in which his first passage had been taken, and had reached Calcutta unobserved in a Danish vessel. As a missionary he would not have been allowed to land, or, having landed, he would have been deported as some of his successors were. As a planter, daily doing missionary work, he was not interfered with; while he not only supported himself at no cost to his society, which he urged to send missionaries to Africa with the old salaries of Thomas and himself, but he gave more than half his income to extend his own mission. The self-supporting system was that on which the

only evangelical missionary agency then known—that of the Moravian Brethren—was conducted; and Carey and his colleagues so carried it out till they died that they personally gave £90,000 to their mission.

The first letters of Carey and Thomas were not received by Andrew Fuller, the secretary, till the end of July 1794, and they were little more than a modest record of toil at the languages, of conversations with the natives, of hardships from the climate, and of the hypocrisy of the one Bengali whom Thomas had previously attached to himself as a catechumen and interpreter, Ram Bose. But Carey's faith and sacrifice lighted up the whole evangelical world of Great Britain—Anglican, Nonconformist, and Presbyterian—when Fuller published No. I. of his *Periodical Accounts* relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, following Francke's Pietist example of 1710. Charles Grant, John Newton, and the Clapham men in London, and Charles Simeon in Cambridge, were delighted, and resolved to renew their former attempt, which in a few years resulted in the establishment of the Church Missionary Society. Ryland, in Bristol, called friends like Dr. Bogue to rejoice with him and spread Carey's letters before the Lord, so that the London Missionary Society soon sprang into being. In the far north Dr. Erskine and Greville Ewing founded the Scottish Missionary Society; and Robert Haldane, selling the beautiful estate of Airthrey, in the Ochils, laid £25,000 at the Lord's feet. Every true Christian

in the land was moved as successive numbers of the *Periodical Accounts* appeared, till in the two *Quarterlies* Sydney Smith scoffed and Southey rebuked him, while even the doubting churches began to deluge Parliament with petitions, which ended in the comparative toleration secured by the East India Company's charter of 1813.

Carey's own society was not idle, for Fuller and Ryland were its executive, who had vowed, by prayer and toil, to hold the ropes while he worked below in the gold mine of the unconverted souls of the millions of Southern Asia. Before the eighteenth century closed four colleagues and their families were sent out to him; but going as missionaries, they could not then sail in a British ship or land on the East India Company's territory without the licence or passport refused them. Again the hand of God appeared guiding the infant mission. At the very time when Carey's position in the Company's territory was becoming so intolerable that he seriously proposed to cross the Himalayan frontier into Bhootan, Charles Grant, a director and twice chairman of the Company, advised the four to seek the protection of the Danish flag at Serampore, fourteen miles up the Hoogli from Calcutta. They shipped in an American vessel, the *Criterion*, of which a Presbyterian elder of Philadelphia, Captain Wickes, was captain; he sent them off in boats just before entering the port of Calcutta, and they landed without difficulty at Serampore on the "Lord's day, October 13, 1799."

Next Lord's day the Danish governor, with his staff, worshipped at their first service. Denmark ever after protected them, and has not ceased to be proud of its trust up to the present sovereign, although, in 1845, Serampore became British by purchase. Under a Danish passport, Ward, whom Carey himself had chosen when a printer and editor at Derby, went off to Dinajpore to persuade him to share the security of such a centre. January 10, 1800, found the five, afterwards joined by Thomas occasionally, united in loving fellowship and toil in what has been called the Canterbury of Asia.

When Carey transferred his India mission to the foreign centre of Serampore he was in the perfection of his powers. Forty years of age; seasoned to the climate; master of the great Hindu languages of East and West, Bengali and Marathi, and having the key of Sanskrit from which they spring; knowing and loving the people of every class, especially the peasantry, artisans, and Brahmans; familiar with their intellectual and economic condition, their resources and agricultural wants; in command of the printing press and all its appliances; having translated the New Testament and written vernacular works; above all, yearning for the salvation of every man the more he knew the misery and the ignorance of all, William Carey stands before us at the opening of the nineteenth century the greatest of the thousands whom Evangelical Christendom has sent to the conquest of the world.

For the six missionaries and their families Fuller had promised £360 a year; but Carey had not been with them more than eight days when they took the first steps to form a Brotherhood, by adopting "a set of rules for the government of the family." On the early death of three of them, and as the others made the common fund not only self-supporting, but the means of planting new missions, their agreement took the form of 1805, spiritual and administrative, under which, in loving unity, they sought to win Asia for Christ. Of their eleven "great principles" this was the first: "It is absolutely necessary that we set an infinite value on immortal souls;" and this the tenth: "That we be constant in prayer and the cultivation of personal religion, to fit us for the discharge of these laborious and unutterably important labours. Let us often look at Brainerd, in the woods of America, pouring out his very soul before God for the perishing heathen, without whose salvation nothing could make him happy." In the eleventh we again trace Carey's experience and language: "No private family ever enjoyed a greater portion of happiness than we have done since we resolved to have all things in common. If we are enabled to persevere, we may hope that multitudes of converted souls will have reason to bless God to all eternity for sending His gospel into this country."

Krishna Pal was the first of these "multitudes," ascertained by the India census of February 1891 to be 2,284,000, or above two millions, if we confine

ourselves to natives, besides the millions of redeemed Asiatics who have joined the multitude which no man can number. He was an intelligent adult only a few years younger than Carey; a carpenter who read one of Carey's tracts as he lay with a dislocated arm; an inquirer whom Thomas healed, and who came, the first-fruit of Bible and medical missions, to Jesus. He became a missionary to his countrymen in Calcutta and Assam, and a writer of such hymns as that which, in its English version, many sing besides those who use the Baptist Hymnal:—

> "O thou, my soul, forget no more
> The Friend who all thy misery bore:
> Let every idol be forgot;
> But oh, my soul, forget Him not!"

Krishna Pal's baptism, along with one of Carey's sons, in the broad Hoogli River, beside the mission house, on the last Sabbath of 1800, in presence of the Danish governor and his native subjects, was to the long-waiting and often disappointed missionary of eight years' standing an event "of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate the Gunga (Ganges) by baptizing the first Hindu.....I addressed the people in Bengali, having sung a Bengali translation of the hymn 'Jesus, and shall it ever be?' and engaging in prayer after the address, I administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper." Converts followed slowly at first, and then faster from all castes and classes—from Brahmans as well as Mohammedans; from Eurasians and Europeans; from

English soldiers and high officers. Sir Henry Havelock and Sir Donald McLeod were of the last class. Calcutta city and its neighbourhood became quite as much the scene of his missionary labours as Danish Serampore, for in the most intolerant times Carey, as professor in Lord Wellesley's College of Fort William, was to the authorities a *persona grata*, and as the years went on active opposition ceased. Like every wise missionary since St. Paul, and unlike many ignorant critics of missions even in the present day, Carey followed every method, if by any means he might win men and women and their children to Christ.

But his three methods of evangelizing the natives and Eurasians were teaching, preaching, and translating. From the first he and Dr. Marshman opened schools, Bengali and English. From the first he and all his coadjutors, English and Bengali, preached Christ in season and out of season in the country languages. Carey's college, paid for out of his earnings as professor chiefly, is still the noblest educational building in India. He never depreciated educational evangelizing based on grants-in-aid from the State, which he was the first to take, and he encouraged young Alexander Duff to follow the same method in happier circumstances in the metropolis of Calcutta.

When, in his great work, the *Annals of the English Bible*, Christopher Anderson reviewed the principal translations of Holy Scripture which Carey had made into the languages of the peoples of India and

Southern Asia, he declared that that generation lived too near the object to be able to descry the proportions or estimate the value of the work. "Fifty years hence the character of this extraordinary and humble man will be more correctly appreciated." Dr. F. A. Cox, the historian of the first half century of the Baptist Missionary Society, wrote about the same time that Carey might have been a Luther or a Newton had he lived in their age, "but his faculties, consecrated by religion to a still higher end, have gained for him the sublime distinction of having been the translator of the Scriptures and the benefactor of Asia." Catholic and evangelical Christendom, after another half century, gratefully adopts the eulogy as its own.

As a man and a missionary William Carey's forty-one years' apostolate in India formed an all-round career. His plodding—the only merit he would admit; his natural genius; his consecration to the highest good of the dark races; his faith in God and personal love to Jesus Christ; his splendid health and capacity for patient toil; his simple self-denial, free alike from consciousness and asceticism for its own sake; his chivalrous affection to family and friends, and his courtesy to his friends' enemies—he had none of his own—all constitute a character nearer perfectness than any since the inspired John died at Ephesus. But if analysis leads us to study each great service that he was called by the Spirit of God to render to the church and the world, we

have no difficulty in selecting these two as the greatest—the founding of his society in 1792, and the translation of the Scriptures into thirty-six Asiatic languages. If Robert Hall could, amid the controversies of his lifetime, declare Carey to have been, even then, "the instrument of diffusing more religious knowledge than has fallen to the lot of any individual since the Reformation," and if Southey could challenge his own Church of England, all combined, to show the like, what shall be the verdict of evangelical Christendom now?

Carey was the pioneer translator of the Word of God into the languages of Southern Asia in this sense, that he was the first—except into Tamil and Telugu—and that, not knowing how soon he might be called away, he must make haste to give every people the good news of God in their own tongue. He worked night and day for this end, while neglecting no other imperative duty except his personal correspondence. To one lady he excused his silence thus—that every letter he wrote meant the sacrifice of a chapter of the Bengali Bible!

The providence of God had, unconsciously, trained him for this work far more effectually than if he had gone to college like Henry Martyn. When, a thoughtless boy in the church of which his father was clerk and schoolmaster, he knew the Scriptures. When, at eighteen, he sought food for his new spiritual life among the Nonconformists, he so studied the Bible for himself that he "formed his own system" of

belief from its self-evidence or self-revealing contents, and found in it what all the reformers and universities of the past centuries had failed to see—the missionary call. As the youth learned each new language, he read his daily morning chapter in it, till the number became seven. He might preach with the voice and teach with the lips, and the effect might pass away with his own life, which must be brief at the longest. But his translations of the Scriptures, the first into the Oriental vernaculars, would, if once made, be improved on by others, and would carry the message of God to man far and wide where no missionary could go, and down through the ages when the pioneer was forgotten. Carey loved to preach, but he thirsted to translate. He worked sixteen hours out of every twenty-four, because he hasted to send out from the press the portions and then the whole of the vernacular Bible, while neglecting no other department of the missionary's duty that fell to him. And God so accepted His servant's work that his holy ambition was realized beyond all his yearning, and in a rapture of thanksgiving he said to Marshman as he lay a-dying: "I have not a wish left unsatisfied." God so blessed His servant's self-denial and toil that He enabled him to contribute personally £46,625 to the creation and extension of the Serampore Mission, so that he saw before his death "twenty-six gospel churches planted in India within an area of about eight hundred miles, and above forty labouring brethren raised up

on the spot amid them," as his surviving colleague wrote.

Let it not be supposed, however, that Carey neglected either the erudition of scholarship or the delicate variations of literary style and colloquial idiom in his Orientalism. Comparative philology was only coming to the birth as a science in his day, and his is the merit of having done more to prepare the data for its generalizations, as well as to apply its laws to the mastering of other tongues, than any contemporary or predecessor. Sir William Jones, the Christian judge, who died all too early at thirty-four, alone was before him. Sir Charles Wilkins and the elder Halhed had made the first translations from the Sanskrit and the Persian, and the former had cut the first Bengali types. Henry Colebrooke, greater than all, and inspirer of the German Orientalists, was Carey's immediate contemporary and sometimes fellow-worker. The slightly later scholar, Horace Hayman Wilson, who became first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, and was no friend of Missions, has more warmly eulogized Carey's Sanskrit scholarship and fluent and correct speech than any other, remarking that "it was not in Dr. Carey's nature to volunteer a display of his erudition;" the marvel is how even he could find time for his translations of the Sanskrit epics, the metaphysical treatises, and still more for his many and magnificent dictionaries and grammars. But the motive accounts for it all when he confesses,

in 1811, in reference to his *Universal Dictionary of the Oriental Languages Derived from the Sanskrit*, which was burned in the great fire of the Serampore Press soon after, the desire "to assist biblical students to correct the translation of the Bible in the Oriental languages after we are dead."

His knowledge of the many dialects and even *patois* of the widespread Bengali and Hindi peoples was unexampled, and has probably never since been equalled. For he was a missionary who daily worked among them, and among the lowest as well as highest classes of them. He had facilities for learning their very slang and vocabulary of abuse, which no one has ever since possessed in Bengal save the revenue settlement officials who may happen to love languages, and the people in other provinces. That rare book, *Dialogues Intended to Facilitate the Acquiring of the Bengalee Language*, with its curious preface, published by Carey in 1818, throws a flood of light on the life and beliefs of the eighty millions even at the present day, too long neglected. In one hundred and thirteen parallel pages we have the talk of every class, learned and illiterate; the "grave style" and the "common talk of labouring people," the language of women "considerably differing from that of the men, especially in their quarrels;" the proverbial expressions and the very irregular talk of fishermen. Some of it is almost too coarse for repetition even in English; but all, including dialogues which set forth "the domestic economy of the country," forms a

priceless revelation of the inner life of the dumb millions of Bengal, and no less a testimony to the wonderfully human tenderness and minute knowledge of the first English missionary to India. William Carey used to exhaust three Pandits daily as his amanuenses and fellow-workers. He had the power, like some great generals, of falling asleep in a moment and for a fixed time. Each Pandit had instructions to rouse him for a new spell of work should he not be awake at the hour; and when the Oriental's reluctance to summon a sleeper back to life prevailed occasionally, the eager scholar never failed to reprove him. Only then was the perfect temper ruffled, for the translator had been allowed to steal time from his work for God and for posterity.

If the science of comparative grammar had not been formulated in Carey's time, still less was that of biblical criticism in the modern sense dreamed of. Theology, though the queen of the sciences, was then as little studied as the active life of godliness was pursued in Christian churches and communities. Carey accomplished his splendid work with no *apparatus criticus* worthy of the name in those days, and with the help of no commentary more critical than Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, which had appeared in 1738. His Greek concordance was always at his side. An interesting parallel might be drawn between him and Henry Martyn, his young contemporary and neighbour for a time, at the translating work. As to Hebrew, like biblical criticism, a

scholarly knowledge of that on any extensive scale is only now coming into existence; but Carey was at the level of the best Hebraists of his day. The grammar was known then; exegetical methods are of to-day. The problem which God gave to the church in the evangelical revival a century ago was that of evangelizing the dark races; and to-day there has been added that of consecrating all recent knowledge and critical inquiry by evangelical fidelity to the true inspiration of the Scriptures. The more that Carey toiled at his translating, the nearer he was drawn to the Spirit of God, and the more his faith was fed by the revelation and the testimony of Jesus Christ.

William Carey's two greatest translations of the Bible were that into Bengali for the blind millions, and into Sanskrit for their blinder leaders. In four years after landing at Calcutta he had made his first experimental Bengali version of the New Testament from the original Greek. After four revisions of the MS., read to natives of all classes, he had received his first printing-press. The printer landed at Serampore in the person of William Ward; and there, in February 1801, the first edition of two thousand copies appeared. Ward himself and Felix Carey set up the types in nine months; four Hindus worked the press. The whole, on rough, country-made paper, cost £620. The rare and precious volume is now a curiosity as it rests on the shelves of Serampore College Library. The first page in Matthew's Gospel

was struck off at press by Carey himself, and this one Gospel was published at once, that the Bengalis might not for a day want a complete and inspired life of the only Redeemer of men. This first edition was presented to King George the Third, at the instance of Earl Spencer, owner of the great library then at Althorp; and the king replied: "I am greatly pleased to find that any of my subjects are employed in this manner." The whole Bengali Bible appeared complete in 1809. Five editions of the Old and eight editions of the New Testament were revised by Carey before his death. As the first sheets had been offered to God on the altar or communion table by prayer in the first Bengali chapel, so the venerable scholar took the first copy of the last edition with him into the pulpit and addressed his converts from it, from the words (in the Bengali), "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," just two years before the Lord lovingly answered the prayer. But to the last he persisted in his ruling passion "now and then to read a proof-sheet of the Scriptures." *

* Before Christ there were four translations of the Old Testament. In the first eighteen Christian centuries there were continuous translations of the New Testament, all forming an evidence of Christianity most powerful, which is true of no other book. When Carey began his Bengali version there were hardly fifty translations of the Word, the message of God to men, in existence. It is to him chiefly that the fact is due that the Bible is now printed cheaply in the languages of nine-tenths of the human race. The nineteenth century has seen the 50 translations increased to 406 in all the chief tongues of the race. Yet there are still 300 of the obscure forms of speech, in tropical Africa and elsewhere, into which Carey's successors must translate the revelation of God to His sinful creatures.

Space fails me to tell the details or even to generalize the romantic facts of William Carey's manifold services to humanity, Indian administration, science and manufactures, botany and forestry, agriculture and horticulture, literature and education, the moral advancement of society and mission economics. These appeal to the men of science and of society, to the statesmen and administrators, who rule three hundred millions to-day, on lines which this friend of many a Governor-General marked out, to all who love the progress of man in any upward direction, to unite with the whole church in grateful commemoration of the founder and the father of missions more than a hundred years ago. All may adopt the lines of a contemporary, a man of the world, who knew him:—

> "Thou'rt in our heart—with tresses thin and grey,
> And eye that knew the Book of Life so well,
> And brow serene, as thou were wont to stray
> Amidst thy flowers—like Adam ere he fell."

But the believing Christian will specially take to his heart the last written message of the dying saint on September 30, 1833: "As everything connected with the full accomplishment of the divine promises depends on the almighty power of God, pray that I and all the ministers of the Word may take hold of *His* strength, and go about our work as *fully* expecting the accomplishment of them *all*, which, however difficult and improbable it may appear, is certain, as all the promises of God are in Him yea, and in Him amen." Carey began the first modern mis-

sionary century with "Expect Great Things; Attempt Great Things;" he summons every Christian to enter on the second not only fully expecting the accomplishment of all God's promises, but taking hold of God's strength as we go about the work of evangelizing the world.*

* Mr. John Taylor, Northampton, has published in a thin, illustrated quarto (1899) an account of twenty-two of the Baptist *Founders and Pioneers of Modern Missions*, by the Rev. James Culross, M.A., D.D.

III.

HANNAH MARSHMAN.

(1767–1847.)

FIRST WOMAN MISSIONARY TO WOMEN.

THE first missionary to the women of India, and indeed the first of all woman missionaries in modern times, was Hannah Marshman. Born in England in 1767, she spent forty-seven years of a happy married life and a short widowhood in the Baptist Brotherhood, formed by her husband, Joshua Marshman, D.D., with Carey and Ward, at Serampore, Bengal. There she died, at the ripe age of eighty years, on March 1, 1847. Her life has never been sketched, even by her distinguished eldest son, John Clark Marshman, C.S.I., who, in 1859, published in London *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward.* Though the mother of twelve children, Mrs. Marshman trained the six who survived for the positions of usefulness and dignity which most of them filled. She spent almost every day of her long life, after she landed in India in the year 1799, in educating the girls and the women of Bengal to know and to serve Jesus Christ. She supplied to the Brother-

hood all the domestic comfort and much of the loving harmony without which her husband and Carey and their associates could not have accomplished half of what the Spirit of God enabled them to do for the highest good of the peoples of India and South Asia. She combined in a rare proportion the three graces of love to Christ, benevolence to all for whom He died, and prudence directed by a sound judgment. Of her three daughters, the eldest married Mr. Williams, of the Bengal Civil Service; the second became the wife successively of the great Danish botanist, Dr. Voigt, and of the greater German scholar, Sir Dietrich Brandis, chief of the Forestry Department of the Government of India; the third was wedded to the heroic Christian soldier, Sir Henry Havelock, and was honoured by the Queen-Empress of India with the offer of a residence in Hampton Court Palace.

Hannah Shepherd, as her maiden name was, granddaughter of the Rev. John Clark, Baptist pastor of Crockerton, in the English county of Wilts, was married in the year 1791 to Joshua Marshman, then twenty-three years of age. Self-educated, her husband soon became known as a tutor in Bristol, in Hebrew, Syriac, and the classical languages. One of his pupils, Mr. Grant, he won over from infidelity, so that the youth was accepted as a missionary of the Baptist Society. Carey's *Periodical Accounts* soon fired the heart of Marshman, and he resolved to join the mission in Bengal. His young wife's prudence and care for their two young children made her hesitate for a little,

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but soon she too "cordially" surrendered herself to the Divine call. On October 13, 1799, the missionary party landed at the Danish settlement of Serampore, when, falling on their knees, Mr. Marshman led them in blessing God for the safe voyage, and the beginning of their mission to the millions of Hoogli and Calcutta. They had sailed in the *Criterion*, of which the Presbyterian elder, Captain Wickes, was master and their lifelong friend. Acting on the advice of the Christian director of the East India Company, Charles Grant, they had avoided the British port of Calcutta, and sailed up the river in a boat. They received the hearty protection of Colonel Bie, the Danish Governor of Serampore. The Governor-General, then the Marquess Wellesley, refused to molest them, and soon he also became the friend of such men and of such a woman as Hannah Marshman.

Carey and the Brotherhood, formed at Serampore, started from the first on the only missionary plan known last century—that of self-support. For seven years Carey had spent his indigo-planter's income on the mission. When he was transferred to Danish protection and reinforced, the Brotherhood consisted of nineteen persons in all, of whom ten were young children. All these must be housed, fed, and clothed, so as to be efficient soldiers in the conflict with idolatry; the children must be educated, and, if God called them, be trained to be the missionaries of the future. The immediate expense was found to be above £600 a year, and that owing to Mrs. Marshman's "greatest

frugality." First, after solemn prayer and renewed dedication to God, laying it down as a fundamental rule "that no one shall engage in any private trade, but whatever is earned shall go into the common stock," the missionaries divided the work according to the special fitness of each. As Carey had the translation of the Holy Scriptures, and soon was made professor in Lord Wellesley's college; as Ward, with two of Carey's sons, had the press, the schools naturally fell to Joshua Marshman, and to his wife far more than to him, as the event proved. The pecuniary result of this organization, as it extended during the next forty years, was unique in the history not only of all Christian missions, but of all philanthropy. The one woman and the three men, with their children and assistants, were the means of earning thousands for the work of God right across Southern Asia from the Persian Gulf to the Pacific Ocean. Of their enormous contributions, besides the self-support of the workers, Hannah Marshman alone gave at least one-fourth.

How was this done? First of all an advertisement made it known all over North India that girls and boys would be received as Christian boarders, to be educated along with the Serampore missionaries' children. The girls' school especially became so famous that we find the three missionaries reporting to the Baptist Society in England at the end of the year 1801: "Last year Sister Marshman opened a school for young ladies, which much increases, so that we have been under

the further necessity of enlarging our habitation..... The taking of Serampore by the English has produced no alteration in our circumstances.....We live in love, and are, perhaps, as happy a family as any in the world." The school had begun in May 1800 with two boarders, and then contained twenty-three, besides day scholars. The terms were £45 a year for each boarder.

To Mrs. Smith, Houndsditch, London, we find Hannah Marshman writing on February 13, 1801: "I searched my mind very minutely before I engaged in the school, lest it should be irksome to me afterward. However, I was enabled to leave all and cheerfully give myself up to the work; and through mercy I have never repented, and hope I never may. I am not worthy of being employed in anything belonging to Christ, and often wonder at the dispensations of God in sending me to this land where so much grace is needed; and my daily experience is such that I often fear lest I have none. This, however, I know: I long for the increase of Christ's kingdom upon earth, especially in this benighted part of it. Respecting our family, I shall only say, I love all, and make it a part of my prayer that I may continue to live in love and peace with all. I wish ever to see my own faults before those of others; and this is one of the blessed things which I have learned in my affliction." It may easily be imagined how the number of her children, their birth, and not infrequent death, affected her amid the threefold toil of her own

school, her work among the native women, and her domestic care of all the Brotherhood for a time. Here is one of many extracts which might be made from her husband's journal, sent to Dr. Ryland, for 1803 :—

"*September 23.*—My wife was taken with a fever yesterday, and confined instantly to her bed. She took an emetic, which operated very powerfully, and through the Lord's goodness she is in her school again to-day."

The mania of Carey's first wife made her only an additional care to Mrs. Marshman; but in the tender friendship of his second, the noble Danish lady, Charlotte Emilia Rumohr, she found some solace and companionship from this time.

Four years later, in January 1805, Hannah Marshman reviews her five years' experience in a letter to Mrs. Clark, Baldwin Street, Bristol, England. The long and vivid narrative should be read in the light of household books which I discovered in the archives of the Serampore College, and reviewed in the weekly *Friend of India* newspaper as a valuable economic contribution to the history of prices. Never was there such a Martha and Mary in one as these documents prove her to have been, always listening to the voice of the Master, yet always doing the many things He entrusted to her, without feeling cumbered, or irritable, or envious. To Mrs. Clark she recounts instances of God's goodness only, especially when the roof of an addition to the school fell in without harming the girls. She adds this unconscious picture

SERAMPORE MISSION HOUSE.
(As enlarged by John Marshman, C.S.I.)

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of the happy life of the Brotherhood, of which she in truth formed the pervasive bond:—

"On Friday evenings, after worship, we generally meet to sup and chat, and hear the Calcutta news—this being the evening that Brother Carey comes home.....As I was returning across to our own house I trod on a serpent, which twisted round my leg and gave my heel a hard smack. I shook it off, and felt no harm. I had hold of Mr. Marshman's arm, or probably I might have fallen down. Having a lantern, I saw it make its way into the grass, and went home a little terrified, but much more surprised.

'Unhurt, on serpents you shall tread,
When found in duty's way.'

Will any one say the Lord is not among us?.....We are enlarging our coast on every side by repairing and building, in expectation" of more boarders and of visitors from America, such as Captain Wickes often introduced to them in his annual voyage. "We are nearly sixty in number, yet we scarcely ever sit more than twenty minutes at breakfast or tea. A chest of tea at eighty rupees" (£8 then) "lasts three months and a fortnight. We use nine quarts of milk in a day; we have twenty quarts for a rupee..... At seven o'clock school begins; at nine at night the children are in bed, after which time is my holiday to read, write, or work. But I am often so overcome with fatigue and the scorching heat of the day that I feel neither will nor power to do anything at all; and when I sit down to converse with you it is with

a weary body, a stupid soul, and dim eyes; but I am sure of having all my faults lightly passed over and all covered with love."

Hannah Marshman's "Ladies' School" was an evangelizing agency of the most direct kind, apart from the large sum which it contributed to the extension of the native mission. Its pupils were chiefly Eurasians or East Indians, of the then fast-increasing and utterly-neglected community who had sprung originally from white fathers and native mothers. She was the first to care for their daughters, so far as these were not the orphans of military officers or soldiers. This mixed class numbered eighty thousand nominal Christians in the India census of 1891, or half the number of pure Europeans, including the British troops. For the soldiers' orphans the government, under the godly chaplain David Brown (Henry Martyn's friend), erected asylums and schools, followed therein by the splendid munificence of the great Sir Henry Lawrence and his wife. But only Hannah Marshman cared for the rest. From her famous school in a generation there passed out relays of truly Christian young ladies, trained and ready to become missionaries to their native sisters. Until such agents were educated and converted, and till the instruction of the native youths had made headway in the boys' schools and in the Serampore College, female education among the Hindus and Mohammedans was impossible. But the Brotherhood watched for it, prayed for it, planned for it, provided the means for it, and

lived to see its foundations well laid by Hannah Marshman.

In the famous periodical, first monthly, then quarterly, and then a weekly newspaper, *The Friend of India*, which flourished from 1817 to 1875, the Serampore Brotherhood's essays were of such value that the earlier series were reprinted in London. One of these, which appeared in 1822, on *Female Education in India*, should be studied by every one of the now happily numerous and vigorous organizations of Christian women for evangelizing the female half of the dark races of the world. That essay gave an impulse to the movement at which Hannah Marshman was the first to toil, and for which she had provided the cultured teachers. The writer called on the Governor-General's wife, the good Marchioness of Hastings, to put herself at the head of an association of ladies for the purpose. Miss Cooke, afterward Mrs. Wilson, was sent out from England to carry on the enterprise in Calcutta, in addition to the Baptists. William Ward, when on furlough in England, had pleaded for justice to the women of India in tones which sent a thrill through the churches. "Amid all the children of misery in India," wrote the Brotherhood, "the softer sex have been most fully the victims of oppression. In India, in which this depraved disposition is neither restrained by Christianity nor mollified by the influence of literature or of manly feeling, this spirit of oppression falls on the female sex in all its violence." The first step was declared to be that of

teaching the girls to read their own vernacular, and so to have their daughters taught, while the slower influence of their educated brothers and husbands worked its effect, as it has done with marvellous results in the third of a century since.

Meanwhile all through her later life Hannah Marshman was working for the women of the lower classes who could be at once reached. Her first native school was opened in 1807. In 1819–1824 her Serampore Native Female Education Society, formed to make the movement permanent and continuous when she should be removed, conducted fourteen girls' schools, with two hundred and sixty pupils. At its other stations of Chittagong, Dacca, Monghyr, Digah, Allahabad, Delhi, and elsewhere, there were about as many more.* The Church Missionary and other societies followed the example, under the encouragement of the good Bishop Heber and Lady

* In 1827 a *Brief Memoir* of the Brotherhood, published in London, contained this statement of results, due partly also to Carey's noble wife, Charlotte Emilia Rumohr:—"The education of females, till within these few years, had never been attempted; and not a few were disposed to regard the experiment as one which must prove vain. This, like various other prognostications respecting India, was a great mistake. In Serampore and its vicinity there are at present fourteen schools, composed entirely of Hindu females, among which are the Liverpool and Chatham, the Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Stirling and Dunfermline schools, etc. Besides these, one is taught at Benares, another at Allahabad, a third at Beerbhoom, three at Chittagong, and seven at Dacca—in the whole, twenty-seven schools, with 554 pupils on the lists. One of these in the vicinity of Serampore may be regarded as an unprecedented thing—an adult female school, in which the women who have entered have shown themselves quite desirous to receive instruction. The daughters of Mohammedans, as well as Hindus, indeed, receive instruction with evident delight; and into these schools, whether for boys or girls, the sacred Scriptures are freely admitted."

Amherst, down to the time of the great Marquess of Dalhousie, just before the Mutiny of 1857. Since the administrative reforms and the Queen's proclamation of toleration and personal encouragement of native female education and medical aid, which followed the Mutiny, Hannah Marshman's pioneering self-sacrifice and wisdom have borne richer and more plentiful fruit than even her faith dared to hope.

In 1846 Alice Sparrowe became the wife of her eldest son, John Clark Marshman,* and the young wife at once found herself in the very centre of missionary enterprise in India. In after life she often remembered with pleasure the tender motherly reception the elder Mrs. Marshman gave her; and when in 1847 that venerable lady was called home, her daughter-in-law assumed charge of the school for native Christian girls she had founded. Under the younger Mrs. Marshman the school prospered greatly. It stood in the same compound as the stately house on the banks of the Ganges Mr. Marshman had enlarged for his family. Mrs. Marshman visited it daily, and often spoke of the classes she took with the native girls seated round her on the ground, their dark faces and keen eyes rendered the more striking by their white *saris*, as they drank in from her the Word of Life.

Since 1847 the dust of Hannah Marshman has lain in the mission cemetery at Serampore, beside that of her husband and Carey and Ward and a child

* See *Twelve Indian Statesmen.* Second edition (John Murray).

of the Judsons. But the India she knew is being changed, and will be transformed by the principles she was the first to set in motion for the redemption of its daughters, without whose evangelization the East can be neither civilized nor Christian. As she was the first, was not Hannah Marshman also one of the greatest of women missionaries? * Our portrait of her is taken from a famous oil-painting by Home, who painted Carey also in 1808.

HANNAH MULLENS gave a new and extended development of the work begun by Mrs. Marshman. The daughter of the neighbouring Chinsurah missionary, Alphonse Lacroix, Hannah received her early impulse at Serampore, and was a young woman of twenty-one when Mrs. Marshman died. Between them the training of India's daughters was carried on in Bengal by

* *The Friend of India*, March 11, 1847, testifies to the beauty and usefulness of Hannah Marshman's career of forty-seven years in India:—"Never has any one in this town been followed to the grave with such deep and universal regret. There were few of its inhabitants who had not grown up amidst the influence of her benevolence. In every emergency the poor and the distressed resorted to her, in the first instance, with the certainty of obtaining advice and relief. Her time and her purse were at the command of every suitor, and the great object and delight of her life was to promote the welfare of others. Her deep piety and unaffected humility, thus combined with the utmost activity of benevolence, exhibited the Christian character in its most attractive form. She exhibited the greatest sweetness of disposition and a perpetual smile of cheerfulness. While lying on her couch and expecting her immediate departure, she repeated, without hesitation or omission, six stanzas of a sublime ode, descriptive of the triumphant feelings of the soul on the verge of eternity, which she had treasured up in her memory sixty-two years before. Thus was she enabled to close a life of extraordinary duration, activity, and usefulness, by bearing her dying testimony to the value of Christian truth and the vitality of the Christian's hope."

Miss COOKE (1821), or Mrs. Wilson, of the Society for Female Education in the East; by MARGARET WILSON (1829), the first wife of Dr. John Wilson, in Bombay; and by Mrs. JOHN ANDERSON (1845) in Madras. In those early days orphans, destitute girls, and Hindu caste children, paid to come to school in covered carriages, or palanquins, formed the classes of the missionaries' wives. It was the day of small things. Meanwhile, in the government and missionary colleges, the boys and young men were receiving the higher instruction only to become the more discontented with their own family life, unless when Christians they taught their wives and daughters. The ladies of the Brahmanical and other caste families could not go to school outside their own zananas. The only way to influence them, by secular and Bible education alike, was to send Christian ladies to teach them in their homes.

This afterwards fruitful suggestion seems to have been first publicly made by the youngest Scots colleague of Dr. Duff, Dr. Thomas Smith, long afterwards Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland. In March 1840, in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, he propounded the plan of what was then called the domestic instruction of native ladies, and has since become familiar as the Zanana Mission. Being new to the country, he submitted a series of questions to Mrs. Wilson and to Duff's first Brahman convert, the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea. The favourable replies of these experts, though published in his article, produced no reponse, save a few isolated attempts, for sixteen

years. In June 1840 Captain Jameson,* then of Baroda and Bombay, where Mrs. Margaret Wilson had done so much, offered three prizes of two hundred rupees each for English essays by natives on the subject of female education. Dr. Banerjea was the successful essayist in Calcutta, where he was "minister of Christ Church, Cornwallis Square," at that time. The little book, now very rare, should be consulted, not only for historical reasons, but as a revelation of the condition of Hindu ladies by one who, born and brought up a Koolin Brahman, a master of Sanskrit and the Hindu scriptures, had bowed his head beneath the yoke of Jesus Christ.

In 1855, for the first time, the Zanana Mission became an organized institution of the Free Church of Scotland, under the Rev. John Fordyce. Mr. Fordyce had the year before twice publicly expounded the details of the proposed organization. On the first day of 1855 he published the first of his "Fly-leaves for Indian Homes," which roused not only the Europeans but the natives, now extensively enough educated to seek for instructed wives and daughters. He thus tells the story †:—

"In January Dr. Thomas Smith introduced me to a few native gentlemen, and I called alone on others. Two consented to receive zanana teachers into their houses, and a third soon followed; whilst some declined, chiefly because no promise could be given of

* Now represented by Sheriff Jameson, Edinburgh.

† *After Many Days*, July 1886 (Woman's Work in Heathen Lands). J. and R. Parlane, Paisley.

silence regarding Christianity. I called for the head of the great house of Tagore. They held a conference, and I have a note of the result, Christianity being the difficulty with them; but a good beginning was made. Two of the first three paid sixteen rupees a month each, and one in the suburbs twenty-five rupees. I knew that this could not be continued with gentlemen of less income, or less earnestness; but it seemed to us to be important that a self-sustaining element should be in the plan from the first. As to terms, the payments should be on a sliding scale; and it is much to be regretted that in the marvellous expansion of the work this has not been kept steadily in view by all parties.

"In January Mrs. Fordyce went to the zananas to see the ladies and introduce Miss Toogood, and all was arranged most happily. As Miss Eliza Toogood left 2 (now 15) Camac Street for the first time with Rebecca, I said to Mrs. Fordyce, 'This is the beginning of a new era for India's daughters.' It had been a subject of much thought, consultation, and prayer, and we expected great results; but the rapidity of the extension has gone beyond our expectation. We had no opposition; but few encouraged us, and many thought that we were attempting impossibilities.

"Every step was reported to the Ladies' Committee; but I requested no express sanction, and I applied for no additional outlay. In Calcutta it was viewed by many as a doubtful experiment, and I saw the risk, if I applied for sanction and funds, that some cautious

Anglo-Indian in Edinburgh might lead the good ladies to strangle the infant mission. So I paid the expenses myself for a few weeks. Soon I found that hired conveyances were too expensive, and so a ghari and horse, coachman and groom, must be got for the zanana work. I had no means for this; and as it was viewed in Calcutta as a doubtful experiment, I could not invite donations till I could tell of some success.

"It was a serious difficulty, and so I went to a gentleman then in Calcutta—R. C. Williamson, Esq., afterwards of Moray Place, Edinburgh. I explained why I could not at once ask either a grant from Edinburgh or donations in Calcutta. Mr. Williamson shared my expectations, and advanced the needed supplies. Soon he was repaid in full, but with no interest except the joy of having done a good work—a joy that may remain with him, as the gratitude is still with me.

"As the experiment was successful,* friends of the mission multiplied. The first donor was Mr. James Stuart of Harrow, who has done much during more than thirty years for the women of India. Mrs. Stuart, I may add, who was in Calcutta, took a deep interest in the work from the first. I called on Bishop Wilson, and explained the matter to him. He very readily gave fifty rupees (then fully £5). Soon we had more than was wanted for the year, though we had to engage Miss Isabella Marr from the Calcutta Normal School, as Miss Toogood was not equal to a

* Mrs. Sale began in Calcutta in 1858, and Mrs. Mullens in 1860.

growing work, having to teach also in the Orphan Home.

"Misses Toogood and Marr are held in loving remembrance by those who knew them, and their names should have a place in any history of the Zanana Mission. Miss Toogood at a later date did good work in Dr. Duff's Girls' School. She was afterwards Mrs. Scott, and died a few years ago in Calcutta. Miss Marr, like Miss Toogood, was remarkably well qualified for such a service—pious, prudent, courteous, loving. Their enthusiasm about their zananas was beautiful. During the Mutiny Miss Marr (Mrs. Price) was shut up in the Agra fort with many Europeans, including some who have since risen to a high position in India, or at home, or both, and among them Bishop French of Lahore, and Sir William Muir, a Lieutenant-Governor in India, and now Principal of the Edinburgh University.

"In September 1855 the Bengal Missionary Conference was held. It was arranged chiefly by a remarkable organizer and statistician, the late Rev. Dr. Mullens. On this occasion Dr. Mullens asked me to prepare a paper on Female Education in India, in which the result of seven months' zanana teaching was recorded. I refer to this in order to quote the resolution of the conference regarding our zanana experiment: 'They rejoice in the hopeful commencement of the Zanana School Scheme, both as a sign of progress and a *new means* for the elevation of women in India.' Of this conference the late Rev.

Dr. Mullens was secretary, and the late Rev. J. Sale was a member. At least five denominations were represented; and one was present from England who is now well known in all the churches, Dr. Underhill, the honorary secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society."

The work for the women of India, begun by Hannah Marshman in the first year of the nineteenth century, has borne these results in its closing years, as stated by Miss Gardner of the American Union Missionary Society, and accepted by the Bengal Missionary Conference:—

No account of government schools before 1850 is found. Lord Dalhousie determined to introduce European principles in the education of women. Instigated by Mr. Bethune, who opened a school for women in 1849 in Calcutta, the Governor-General informed the Council of Education that henceforth its functions were definitely and systematically to embrace female education, than which no single change in the habits of the people was likely to lead to more important and beneficial consequences. The advance thus inaugurated went on to 1893, when in secondary and lower primary schools there were 294,318 female pupils, to which should be added the large number of girls' schools not aided by government. In Bengal in 1893 the number in government-aided schools was 97,142, which increased to 102,590 next year, Madras and Bombay following closely on to these figures. The North-Western Provinces, the

Punjab, Burma, Assam, and Hyderabad, while showing smaller figures, yet reveal great progress in recent years. While the most of those reported are in the primary stage of instruction, there has been a very steady growth in the direction of higher education.

The last decade has seen the rise of two women's colleges in India, one of which is the Bethune College, founded in 1849, and affiliated to the Calcutta University in 1888; the other, under the auspices of the American Methodists at Lucknow, claims to be the first college for Christian women in Asia.

In the line of higher education woman's medical work has been a great spur. The first effort in this direction also was made by a missionary, so far as can be ascertained by Dr. Humphrey of the American Methodist Mission, who in 1867 trained a class of young women, hoping to send them out where he could not go himself. Shortly after this Miss Swain, of the same mission, the first woman doctor ever sent by a missionary society to any part of the non-Christian world, arrived in India, and started the first woman's hospital. This movement spread rapidly, and the study of medicine and medical work done by women have become very popular. The Universities, led by Madras in 1876, opened their doors, Calcutta following in 1878. Then came the Lady Dufferin Fund, which has made rapid progress, so that in 1897 no fewer than 1,377,000 women patients were treated by women and 3,756,000 by men.*

* Lord Curzon's speech, March 3, 1899.

Two acts of government in regard to women have helped to make the Victorian era a notable one in India—one the legalizing of the remarriage of Hindu widows by Lord Canning in 1856 *; the other a law forbidding marriage under twelve years. The Sunday-school movement has been very helpful in developing the work among Indian girls, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Christian Endeavour organization are touching the lives of Indian Christian women at many important points. The zanana work has made great progress. Now there is absolutely no limit in this direction, except that which is imposed by the lack of workers.

But it is still true that out of 150,000,000 Indian women, not more than 1,000,000 can read. Of 1,250,000 nominal Christians there are probably 250,000 women and girls unable to read. But there is a class of educated, high-toned Christian women, who are making their way into positions of honour and trust, and filling them well and faith-

* My old friend, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, deserves the credit of this Act XV. of 1856. He led the agitation out of which rose the Bill for the Remarriage of Widows, in 1855-56. He was the learned Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. His espousal of the cause of women was very earnest, and his proving that the refusal of remarriage to widows had no Vedic sanction had great weight because of his reputation as a Sanskrit scholar. In a pamphlet on the subject of the Remarriage of Widows he pathetically exclaims, after speaking of the power mere custom has: "When men consider the observance of mere forms as the highest of duties and the greatest of virtues, in such a country would that women were never born! Woman! in India thy lot is cast in misery." Such language to-day would be called sentimental and exaggerated. But Vidyasagar remained a Hindu all his life.

fully. Most of the honours carried off in the Arts examinations are won by Christians. Seven-eighths of the women medical students in Agra are Christians. In Madras, out of forty-two lady students in the medical hall only one was not a Christian. The three ladies who took the M.B. degree in that university were of the same faith. The majority of the M.A.'s are Christians; and well-trained women are turning up everywhere as principals of colleges, inspectresses of schools, heads of hospitals, head-mistresses of girls' schools, compounders, nurses, teachers, Bible women, and last, but should be first, wives and mothers training their little ones for future usefulness. The most urgent needs of the present are provision for the training of our Christian women; a larger, more interesting, and elevating supply of vernacular literature; and training or Bible schools for workers.

The Hindu and Mohammedan social systems, on their sexual side, must be purified by the teaching of Christ before woman reaches in the East the same position and ennobling influence as in Christendom. Since Hannah Marshman began the Christ-like work of raising the women of Asia to the level of those who ministered to the Lord in the days of His humiliation, the triumph song of the Psalter is being realized for all—*The Lord giveth the word: the women that publish the tidings are a great host. Kings of armies flee, they flee: and she that tarrieth at home divideth the spoil.*

IV.

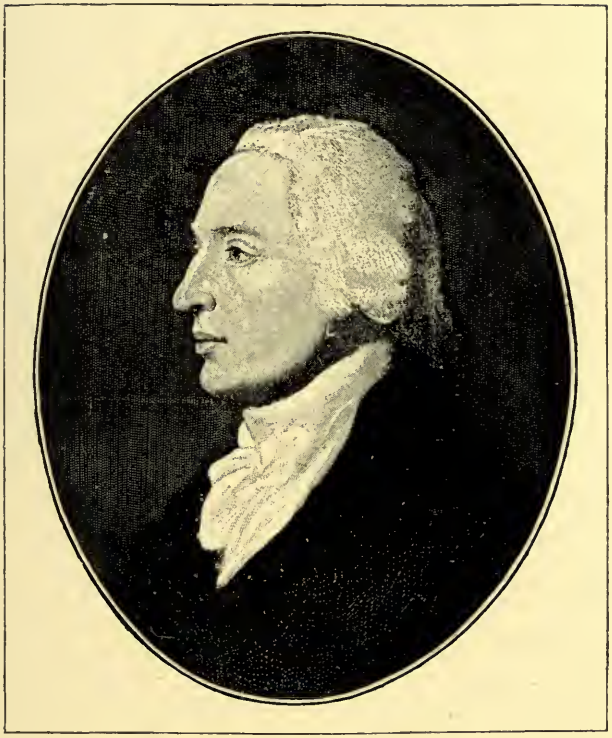
CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON.

(1760–1814.)

PIONEER IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

JAMES WILSON was an East India Company's ship captain, a prisoner of the French and then of Hyder Ali, and all along an infidel of the old, coarse, aggressive type. By the grace of God, when he retired to England, he was made the first to volunteer to the London Missionary Society to carry the gospel in the good ship *Duff*, which he helped to purchase, to the islands of the Pacific Ocean. The story of Captain James Wilson is remarkable even in the annals of Christian missions, so full of holy heroism and inspiriting romance.

More than a hundred and fifty years ago a Captain Wilson sailed his ship in the trade from the great English port of Newcastle. The father of nineteen children, he could not afford to give them much schooling, so he brought up the boys in his own ship under his own eye from their earliest years. His youngest son was James, who thus lived at



CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON.

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sea, amid influences of the worst kind, at a time when the mercantile marine of Great Britain was at its lowest moral point. When the war with America began, the youth sought a career on land in which his love of adventure could be gratified. There he served; there he took part in the battles of Bunker Hill and Long Island. The close of the War of Independence set him loose for other deeds. Returning to England, so good a sailor and fighter found no difficulty in securing a mate's berth on one of the East India Company's famous traders and passenger ships. The high spirits of the youth and his knowledge of navigation commended him to his messmates and his officers alike. But he had not been long at Calcutta when he found that money was to be made, as well as a reputation to be gained, in the local mercantile or transport service. For that he left the East Indiaman.

These were the days of the war with republican France and with the Mohammedan ally of the French, Hyder Ali, succeeded by his son, "Citizen" Tippoo. The great Colonel (afterwards Sir) Eyre Coote had defeated M. Lally at Wandewash, had captured the capital of French India, Pondicherry, and had been rewarded by a seat in the Bengal Council, when the bungling soldiership of the British generals in South India summoned him to meet Hyder Ali, then close to the walls of Madras itself. Captain James Wilson again and again ran the blockade which the French Admiral Suffrein for a time established on the Madras

coast, carrying military stores and supplies to Sir Eyre Coote. In 1780, when Hyder Ali burst on the Carnatic, Warren Hastings knew that the very existence of the East India Company was threatened, and spent millions to wipe out the disasters of Governor Whitehill and Colonel Baillie. Thrice Coote defeated Hyder Ali under most difficult circumstances, and all the time Captain James Wilson was running along a dangerous coast, and up little-known rivers, to feed his force with the munitions of war. Courage and skill were never more successfully applied than by this Newcastle sailor, whose marine and military adventures extended from Bunker Hill to Negapatam in the East Indies.

At last, in 1872, Wilson's ship, the *Yarmouth*, when attempting to pass a French frigate of forty-four guns, with stores for Admiral Hughes, who had spent all his ammunition in a sea fight with Suffrein, was captured. He and his men were carried to the French prison at Cuddalor, where he found the crew of another British ship. Life was tolerable enough for the officers, till the French commander received an order from Admiral Suffrein to deliver up all his prisoners to the tyrant Hyder, who had deliberately purchased them for three hundred thousand rupees, or £30,000. The commander and his officers were indignant at the baseness of the transaction, but they had no alternative except obedience. Wilson determined to save his own life. Carefully observing the ramparts of the fort as they rose from the river, he resolved to drop down at

nightfall and find his way to the nearest British force. A brother officer and his Bengali servant agreed to accompany him. The place of rendezvous was fixed, and the hour, being seven o'clock, when it became dark and the guard was changed.

After waiting for the other officer, who did not appear, Wilson let himself drop down forty feet into the water below, striking, however, his chin upon his knees, and making a splash which, he felt sure, must have alarmed the sentries. After a little he found his way to the dry land at the foot of the wall, and there received his slightly-built servant in his arms safely enough; but the lad could not swim, and the fort was in the midst of a network of rivers and backwaters. Thrice Wilson, with the Bengali on his back, had crossed the mouths of the Coleroon, and they were already within hail of Porto Novo at its principal entrance, when they were challenged by one of Hyder Ali's sentries. Plunging into the tidal current they were soon involved in the breakers, which so frightened the native youth that Wilson returned to the shore and sent him off to a friend. Again crossing the estuary he found a canoe, in which he hoped to reach the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. Instead of this he was discovered by a party of Hyder's troopers, who stripped him naked, tied his hands behind him, fastened a rope to them, and drove him before them under the burning sun some forty miles to his old prison. There he was chained to a British soldier, and thence the miserable band were

marched in the sun for thirty days two hundred miles to Hyder's capital and fortress of Seringapatam.

The horrors of that captivity have been described in more than one of the military biographies and histories of Great Britain. It was there that the Duke of Wellington began his exploits when, at the close of last century, the fortress was captured and Tippoo Sultan fell fighting. Only in one other instance have these horrors been exceeded—when Nana Sahib butchered the British officers, their wives and children, at Cawnpore in 1857. As if James Wilson had not suffered enough, he had yet to undergo misery compared with which death itself were better. But God had great designs for him and by him, though he knew Him not. First of all, Hyder Ali himself offered him and the other captives liberty and rewards if they would profess Islam and enlist in his army. If not, they were threatened with tortures, keen and lingering. Some are said to have yielded. Not so James Wilson. Though ignorant of Christian truth and religious principles, he was a brave and patriotic man, who had fought his country's battles and valued her civilization. He refused, as the majority did, and was at once ordered to prison with a body of a hundred and fifty-three Highland soldiers of Colonel M'Leod's regiment. Irons to the weight of thirty-two pounds were put upon him, and he was chained to a fellow, similarly loaded, night and day. Many a time when one of the two died the survivor remained thus attached to the festering corpse. In

an open courtyard, exposed to the cold wind by night and the fierce sun by day, and starved till they feared to put a finger near their mouth lest they should bite it off, hundreds of Christian captives thus lay, and rotted, and died in the gloomy years of war in which, in South India, the eighteenth century closed. To add to his sufferings, Wilson was seized with dysentery, known as the bloody flux, which was a scourge of the foreigner in the tropics till the discovery of the ipecacuanha treatment fifty years ago. Death seemed at hand, and he would then have died as do the beasts; but again God's longsuffering prevailed, though he knew it not. Exchanging his miserable rice diet for a small and cheaper millet, he unconsciously effected a violent cure. When only thirty-two out of a hundred and twelve of Baillie's soldiers survived, after such a captivity for twenty-three months, Sir Eyre Coote inflicted the third defeat on Hyder Ali. The few captives were released, and Captain James Wilson found himself in Madras, penniless and impenitent.

He gladly shipped as a mate to Bencoolen and Java, where, when at Batavia, the putrid fever, which was so fatal to the Dutch, wellnigh carried him off. He never got rid of the effects of his awful captivity, but he persisted in his trading, became part owner and captain of the ship, and at last achieved the fortune for which he had been working so long. After more than one relapse, and all along ignorant of or indifferent to the Divine hand which held his soul in life and was gradually preparing him for the

highest form of service to the Master, he resolved to retire to England. It is a curious coincidence that John Thomas* was surgeon of the East Indiaman in which he sailed. That first of medical missionaries, who was about to draw William Carey away to Bengal from the islands of the Pacific, on which the Northamptonshire shoemaker had set his heart, made James Wilson only more determined in his infidelity. Neither by the persuasiveness of his speech nor by the gentleness of his life did he, Dr. Thomas, lead to Christ the man who closely resembled him in temper and in adventures. The two disputed about religion, and controversy seemed to drive James Wilson farther from Christ. Thomas remarked after one of these disputations, that he had more hope of converting the heathen or Mohammedan lascars of the vessel than of Captain Wilson. So it is that still, as in the days of our Lord and the twelve, some of His followers would call down fire from heaven. What a lesson to Christians in all ages and lands, at home and abroad! Wilson landed at Portsmouth, bought a house and garden at Horndean in Hampshire, asked an unmarried niece to be his housekeeper, and soon became known in the country round as "a worthy gentleman who had retired to affluence and ease from the East India service."

He was only thirty-six years of age, and was so well satisfied with himself that he had no conscience for the teaching of Providence in his past eventful

* See page 48.

life and preservation, or for the warnings of Scripture, which he did not believe to be a revelation from God, or for the example of his gentle niece, who sought to win him to faith and service. He was a deist of the old school, and he gained so easy an intellectual victory over one of his neighbours, Captain Sims, a good man, that he became confirmed in his scepticism. Vanity and pride so filled his heart that he turned God's goodness to him into an argument for the conviction that he was a special favourite of the Deity. But though unable to give the self-sufficient and worldly captain any other reason for his own belief in the Bible than this, "He that believeth hath the witness in himself," Sims did not cease to care for his neighbour's good. Accidentally, as it seemed, Sims had his minister, Mr. Griffin of Portsea, with him as a visitor on a day when he was asked to dine with Wilson, and the minister was included in the invitation. Sims saw his opportunity. Recurring to former debates, he appealed to his minister as to a man equal to the controversy. Mr. Griffin deprecated discussion in such circumstances, lest he should be suspected of being present by some underhand arrangement. This only stimulated Wilson, who said, "I am glad of the opportunity to converse on the evidences of the so-called Divine origin of the Christian Scriptures, and I never met the clergyman yet whom I could not foil in a quarter of an hour." Thus challenged, the young minister accompanied his host to the garden, leaving Captain

Sims with the niece and a lady friend, who was also a believer.

It was a July sunset in a cloudless sky when the work of soul-enlightening, soul-winning began. The Holy Spirit was with the young theologian, who had first silently invoked His power, according to promise. Step by step the two wrestled to this conclusion, pressed home on Captain Wilson with singular modesty but assured firmness, "If you reject the remedy provided by God, remember there is no other, and you may be finally wrong and finally miserable." As Sims approached them in the evening twilight, he said, "Has he convinced you, captain?" to which Wilson replied, "I will not say much about that, but he has said some things I shall never forget." He begged for a reading of Major Burns's *Christian Officer's Panoply*, which he had before scoffingly returned to Sims, who had pressed it upon his attention, and he began to search the Scriptures for himself. He went to Mr. Griffin's service in Portsea on the next Sunday, when the prayers and the preachings alike opened his heart to the teaching of Paul, in the eighth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, as to how God had predestinated men to be conformed to Himself in His Son. The next sermon showed how those whom He did predestinate He also *called*, and Wilson saw all his past life in the light of that revelation. After solitary agonizing from darkness to light, the proud deist, now a humble and joyful believer, visited Mr. Griffin to tell him this: "I have

no language to express the happiness I now feel. The gratitude I owe to God will, I hope, be expressed in the life I have yet to live by my zeal in His service bearing some proportion to that which I have manifested in the service of Satan." The two joined in magnifying the grace of God. In 1796 James Wilson became a member of Orange Street Chapel, Portsea, and the good work was completed under his friend's preaching on the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, when he fully comprehended that he had been saved to be the means of saving others. "What," he now ever asked himself, "has my faith induced me to do for others?"

The London Missionary Society had been founded the year before. Its first secretary, Dr. Love, and his directors had resolved to begin operations in the island world revealed by Captain Cook in his three voyages, and they appealed for volunteers to go forth as the first missionaries. Captain James Wilson was the first to volunteer. He placed himself, his marvellous experience and his fortune, practically at the disposal of the society. All his worldly plans and visions vanished in the light of the heavenly vision, to which he was no longer disobedient. After continual journeyings to and from London, distant from his home sixty miles, to make preparations for the voyage which he was to conduct, he sold Horndean and went up to London, where he established his niece. On June 28, 1796, he purchased the ship *Duff* for five thousand pounds, and on August 10 she

sailed from the Thames under this resolution—"That a mission be undertaken to Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, and the Pelew Islands, in a ship belonging to the society, to be commanded by Captain Wilson, as far as may be practicable and expedient."

Thus was the missionary sea-captain made for the mission by the Spirit of God. Thus began the work of Christianizing the islands of the sea, which had so long waited for His law, even during the seventeen Christian centuries since the British Isles first heard the good news of God. The story is told in that now rare quarto volume, published in London in 1799, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson.* "Compiled from Journals of the Officers and the Missionaries, and Illustrated with Maps, Charts, and Views drawn by Mr. William Wilson. With a Preliminary Discourse on the Geography and History of the South Sea Islands, and an Appendix including Details never before published of the Natural and Civil State of Otaheite, by a Committee Appointed for the Purpose by the Directors of the Missionary Society."

America still waits the advent of a poet of the missionary crusade, such as William Cowper was the first to become in English literature more than a century ago, and Reginald Heber proved himself to be among the Anglicans, and as James Montgomery

did, representing the Moravian Brethren. John Greenleaf Whittier has come nearest to filling the sacred niche among the poets of our Western Continent in the long career of his beautiful and God-consecrated life, from the appearance of his "Mogg Megone," in 1836, till his death a few years ago. The poem which caused him to be first recognized by purely English critics as "a poet indeed" was "The Panorama," which was published fifty years ago. As we read its impassioned and exquisite strains, we feel that the writer was prevented from letting his muse burn over the greater subject of the foreign missionary enterprise only by the immediate call of the slave for freedom. But we may now apply the pictures and predictions of his panoramic showman to the higher freedom which the missionaries of Christ are everywhere proclaiming to all enslaved by sin—

> "And, still beyond, long lines of foam and sand
> Tell where Pacific rolls his waves a-land,
> From many a wide-lapped port and land-locked bay,
> Opening with thunderous pomp the world's highway
> To Indian isles of spice and marts of far Cathay.
> 'Such,' said the showman, as the curtain fell,
> 'Is the New Canaan of our Israel—
> The land of promise to the swarming North,
> Which, hive-like, sends its annual surplus forth.'"

For the peoples, to whom awakening Christendom first resolved to send the good news of the liberty which is in Christ Jesus, were those of the islands of that Pacific Ocean which covers a third of the globe. In Captain James Wilson the London Missionary Society had found the providentially-prepared

leader of the expedition, but where were the missionaries?

The Rev. Dr. John Love, the first secretary of the society, and worthy to rank with Andrew Fuller, the first secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, stood almost alone, a hundred years ago, in giving due importance to the training as well as the character of the men who were to be the modern apostles to the eight hundred millions of human beings ignorant of Christ. Himself converted when he was nineteen years of age, he had enjoyed the academic and theological discipline of the Universities and of the Church of Scotland. He had been assistant pastor and preacher in the parish churches of Rutherglen and Greenock, and he was Scottish minister in London at the age of forty, when there was added to his work the cares of the secretariat. To found a new society, in the fervour of the first love called forth by William Carey's letters, was well; but to find and to prepare missionaries at a time when only one Englishman had gone out to preach Christ, was a task of far more serious difficulty and of even greater importance. John Love naturally looked to Scotland, but the General Assembly of its church that very year (1796), by a majority in the teeth of Dr. Erskine of Greyfriars, pronounced foreign missions "preposterous." So he wrote these significant words on March 17, 1796: "I have been led to the idea of forming some certain and permanent plan for securing the solid instruction of a few missionaries at least, who may

be as eyes to the rest. I am more and more established in the fullest certainty that the rash ideas of many respecting the easiness of finding persons truly qualified for this work are the quintessence of folly and vain arrogance. In the course of conversations with the missionaries here for their instruction, I see at once the difficulty, the possibility and absolute necessity of polishing those shafts that are to be thrown into the very centre of the host of Satan." He humbled himself and his fellow-directors, calling them "to consider deeply whether our humiliation, and faith, and spirituality are of such a dye as that it may be hoped that the jealous God will commit to us the high honour of being the fathers of heathen nations."

When Dr. John Love had, day by day, given the accepted candidates for the mission field systematic theological training, so far as was possible to men generally ignorant of the original Hebrew and Greek languages of the Holy Scriptures, he prepared fifteen *Addresses to the People of Otaheite, designed to assist the Labour of Missionaries and other Instructors of the Ignorant.* The study of these "simplest methods of conveying scriptural truth to untutored minds," and, possibly, the translation of these addresses into the vernacular languages of the islanders, were meant to do what Wyclif, Luther, and John Knox attempted in the Reformation times of transition from the darkness of illiterate Romanism which had concealed the Word of God.

Of the thirty male missionaries, with six wives and three children, who embarked on board the *Duff* at Blackwall on the Thames, with James Wilson as commander, his nephew, William Wilson, as mate, and a crew of twenty besides, only four were ordained ministers. The Rev. James Fleet Cover and John Eyre, thirty-four and twenty-eight years of age respectively, were married. The Rev. John Jefferson did not live longer than to the year 1807. The fourth, the Rev. Thomas Lewis, who had attended the hospitals and dispensaries and understood printing, married a native, and was murdered in 1799. The other twenty-six were tradesmen, artisans, and servants; one is entered as "surgeon," and one as lately a gunner in the Royal Artillery. The only one of the thirty whose name has come down as distinguished in missionary history was Henry Nott, a bricklayer, twenty-two years of age. He died in 1844, after forty-eight years' splendid service. Dr. John Love had reason for his anxiety. "The Lord of the harvest," he wrote, "hath prepared a numerous band of missionaries, and hath provided the means of their conveyance to a remote region of the globe..... When they stand on heathenish shores.....it is easy to speculate, in the shade, on their arduous situation. But the elevation of faith, the rich communication of wisdom and power from on high, essential to their comfort and success, are beyond what most of us are capable to imagine." Dr. Love warned the sanguine supporters of the new and sacred venture that ac-

counts of solid success could not be expected for a long time. "Having done our utmost to begin the attempt well, let us follow it up and mature it by the faith, patience, and prayers of years to come." Yet, though Captain James Wilson did his part of the first missionary expedition well, and only one of the thirty missionaries proved himself above the average, while some fell away, this pioneer enterprise of the London Missionary Society has been used by the gracious Head of the church to bring to Himself nearly all the peoples of the Pacific islands. It has prepared their ocean to be, in the second missionary century, the great highway of the Christian nations from the United States and the Dominion of Canada on its American shores to Russia and Japan and the colonies of Great Britain on its Asiatic and Australasian coasts. Henry Nott was a bricklayer as William Carey was a shoemaker. So is Jesus Christ's fundamental law of His kingdom carried out still, as when He called the fishermen by the Galilean lake and trained them to be fishers of men.

Captain James Wilson, though more experienced than they all, received a letter of instructions from the directors. "You are fully apprised," they wrote, "of the nature and design of the expedition you have undertaken to conduct. You are aware that it is not only in its nature singular and almost without a precedent, but that it is also one of the most honourable and most important services which can be confided to a human being. The attention of the Christian world

is very generally excited to the object, and devout intercessions are continually ascending, like incense to heaven, for its success. Should it be favoured with the blessing of God, it may be the direct means of imparting Divine light and eternal life to great multitudes of immortal beings, and may form an era of distinguished importance in the history of human redemption." He was told to proceed to Portsmouth to join the East India convoy there, and to keep company with it for protection in that time of European war; to procure at Teneriffe four pipes of the best wine in hogsheads, paying by draft on the society's treasurer; to take thence bunches of dried grapes for planting in the mission settlements, and pecks of wheat and seeds of tropical fruits for the same purpose. Making for Rio de Janeiro, he was there to lay in a stock of sugar, tobacco, chocolate, cochineal plant, and other vegetable productions. He was to proceed thence by way of Cape Horn to Tahiti, but if baffled by contrary winds to bear up and run for the Cape of Good Hope. The sphere of the mission was defined, by resolution of the general meeting, to be "Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, and the Pelew Islands." But while it was declared desirable to introduce the gospel into several islands, it was pronounced necessary, if possible, to establish it in one. After detailed suggestions as to negotiations with the chiefs and the settlement of disputes through "appealing to the decision of Divine Providence by a solemn and religious use of the

ancient institution of drawing lots," Captain Wilson was told to call at the East India Company's Canton factory for a return cargo, so as to sail back to Europe in the early part of 1798. "You are accompanied by the affectionate esteem of the excellent of the earth, and ministering spirits, we trust, will receive the welcome charge to convoy you in safety to the place of your destination. May they be glad spectators of the formation of a Christian temple in these heathen lands, and thus be furnished with the subject of a new song to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb."

The discoveries in the South Seas during the three voyages of Captain Cook* had made the missionary directors familiar with the condition of the islands and peoples, and especially with Tahiti. When dedicating the firstfruits of their labours to George the Third, who had sent out the scientific expedition there to observe the transit of Venus, the directors said to the king: "A nobler object, sire, has engaged the attention of the missionary society, who, believing CHRISTIANITY to be the greatest blessing ever imparted to mankind, desired to communicate that inestimable gift, with all its happy effects, to these unenlightened regions." They felt, moreover, upbraided for their neglect of repairing, if possible, the injuries caused

* The extraordinary interest, scientific and spiritual, called forth by these voyages, all over Europe, is well seen in a work published at Berlin in 1781 by the Halle Professor, Johan Reinhold Forster, *Tagebuch Einer Entdekkungs Reise nach der Südsee in der Jahren 1776 bis 1780 unter Anführung der Capitains Cook, Clerke, Gore und King.* The map is of curious value.

to the natives by the miseries and diseases which intercourse with Europeans had occasioned. The early Spanish navigators had erected a cross on Tahiti, a fact which led Captain Cook to remark that, in his opinion, nothing would ever be done to Christianize the Pacific islanders, "since there were no motives in public ambition nor in private avarice for such an undertaking." Dr. Haweis, the Anglican rector and chaplain of the Countess of Huntingdon, who was a worthy colleague of the Presbyterian, Dr. Love, spared no pains to induce his fellow-directors to answer that superficial and faithless view, to which Captain Cook had himself fallen a victim, by directing the first expedition to the islands of the South Sea, and very specially to Tahiti.

The story of Captain James Wilson's first voyage of the *Duff* in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, as authoritatively detailed at full length in the quarto volume published in 1799, was again in the centennial year of the London Missionary Society told in popular style by its editorial secretary, and more fully in 1899 by Mr. R. Lovett. Captain Wilson brought home a cargo of teas the freight of which yielded £4,100 to the society's funds. After sixteen years of service in London as one of its directors, he died in Walworth at the age of fifty-four.

To the eye of sense a hundred years ago, it looked as if the opinion of Captain Cook as to the destiny of the Polynesians were more likely to prove correct than that of Captain James Wilson. For years after

March 5, 1797, when he left eighteen of the thirty missionaries on Tahiti, of the Society group, and the others on Tongatabu, of the Friendly Islands, and put one man, William Crook, the servant, ashore on the Marquesas, it seemed as if the whole enterprise were to be a failure. In March 1798, one-half of them left for Sydney, and "gave up the work." Only in 1800 could Nott and Jefferson build a church and preach in public. Not till 1812 did it seem possible that there could be any fruit, when King Pomare asked Nott for baptism. Who shall picture the trial of faith which that heroic missionary had patiently borne these sixteen years, while deserted by nearly all his fellows, and treated as Noah was when he was a-building the ark? But God's long-suffering, reproduced in that of His servant, proved as ever to be "salvation," to races as to individuals, to the sensual Polynesians and cannibal Melanesians as to the chosen Israel of old, and every evangelized dark people since. From Captain Cook's murder and even John Williams's martyrdom, to the churches of Maoris and Fijians, Eromangans and Samoans, what a difference the century has wrought out! All because James Wilson sailed the *Duff* and he and Henry Nott* believed the promises of God, commercial and political progress have been made possible, and the greatest litterateur of his generation, Robert Louis Stevenson, who lies on the hill of Samoa among the people whom he loved,

* His portrait may be seen in the board room of the London Missionary Society.

blessed the South Sea missionaries as Darwin did Gardiner and his fellows at Tierra del Fuego.

American and European civilization may or may not in time kill out the Negritos, Papuans, and even Malays of the islands of the Pacific Ocean; but if so, that will be due to the white men, whose vices and greed the evangelists of Christendom have sought to arrest, and would have anticipated, had the Church of the eighteenth century been as careful to obey its Lord as the Royal Society was to observe the transit of Venus. And whatever earthly destiny the God of nations and of missions may have in store for the islanders in the new century, this much is certain, that Christ, wherever He has been preached and believed on, has redeemed them from the terror of the devils their fathers adored for deities, as Milton sang; has given many of them a pure life and a righteous government; has filled them with the assured hope which takes from death its sting and the grave its victory, and reveals the kingdom of heaven opened to all believers. It is true that, proportionally to population, the scattered races and confused tongues of the islands have had ten times more missionaries than those of the old civilizations and literatures of India, since Captain James Wilson escaped from the dungeon of Tippoo, the tiger of Mysore, and God used him to land Henry Nott, the bricklayer, in Tahiti, and the brave solitary Crook, the valet, in the Marquesas. But it will no longer be the part of politicians and traders to taunt Christendom with this when, as the

new century advances, the whole ocean becomes in the highest sense worthy of its name, and proves to be the Mediterranean of the Antipodes, the busy highway of Christian civilization.

The day on which Admiral Dewey suddenly made the United States of America master of the Philippines opened the new era for the thousand islands of the Pacific Ocean.* That pregnant event was quickly followed by the annexation of Hawaii and the capture of the Ladrones, since ceded to Germany. The Monroe doctrine has ceased to operate, and the great American Republic has joined the other Christian Powers of the world in exercising an influence, political as well as moral, on the thousand millions of the dark races who are still outside Christendom and civilization.

When Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of State, afterwards Senator William H. Seward, completed a journey round the world, he wrote that "the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter." This is only another form of the famous saying of George Canning, about calling a new world

* The proclamation issued in 1899 by General Otis, the American commander, is a guarantee that the Philippines will be governed like British India. It declares (1) that the supremacy of the United States will be enforced throughout the archipelago; (2) that such liberty of self-government will be granted as is reconcilable with an efficient administration and compatible with the sovereign rights of the United States; (3) that civil and religious liberty will be assured; (4) that there will be no "exploitation" of the people of the islands for the benefit of others; (5) that an honest civil service will be appointed, in which, as far as possible, natives will be employed; (6) that public works will be promoted; and (7) that public education will be cared for. Other articles guarantee that justice and good government shall prevail in the islands.

into existence to redress the balance of the old. Science has said the same thing. The great naturalist Bates, who died not long ago, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, expressed the opinion that if mankind has been able to attain a high degree of culture through its struggle with the inclemency of the cold regions, it is in the equatorial lands and islands that the perfect race of the future will enter on the complete fruition of its magnificent inheritance. Elisée Reclus, the first of living geographers, looks for this result in the Australasian region, and especially in those Pacific islands which are excelled by no lands "in the marvellous harmony of their outlines, the charm of the encompassing waters, the softness of the atmosphere, the fecundity of the soil, the even course of their seasons, and the rhythmical movement of all their natural phenomena."

The course of discovery, first from the western shores of the two Americas, and then from the eastern coasts of Australasia, up to the present time, points to the ultimate control of the Pacific islands by the two English-speaking and missionary powers of the United States and Great Britain.

Imagination can hardly exaggerate the vastness territorially, the importance politically, and the value commercially and morally, of the thousand inhabited islands of the Pacific Ocean. The great Oceanic Basin, as Reclus calls it, covers about one-half of the surface of the earth. The united Indian and Pacific waters south of the three continental extremi-

ties, Cape of Good Hope, Tasmania, and Cape Horn, stretch uninterruptedly in a circuit of 15,000 to 16,000 miles. The great ocean completely floods the immense semicircle for 24,000 miles between the two capes, overshadowed by the Ethiopian Highlands, the Himalayas, and the Andes. Over the Indian or western section of this great oceanic hemisphere Great Britain has long held the chief supremacy, for the good of humanity, as well as of its own subjects, and the Americans have been voluntarily associated with it in the civilizing work. Over the Pacific or eastern section, also, Great Britain has hitherto wielded the foremost influence, keeping the door open for all, alike by its Australasian colonies, its New Guinea and Borneo interests, its Fiji colony, its New Hebrides' Scots Missions, and, above all, its position in China ever since the old East India Company began the task of opening the far east of Asia to the world. From the other side of the Pacific Ocean the Dominion of Canada commands the ocean highway and guards the shortest international route that commerce can follow, developing by railways and steamers a splendid future. The Siberian Railway, nearly approaching completion, following the personal study on the spot by the young Czar, has given Russia a new point of vantage in the north-east. The rise of Japan, shattering the exclusiveness of China, has revealed the hopelessness of its dynasty, and further opened up the trade of its four hundred millions. Germany has struck in, and France is pushing up from the south-east. The parti-

tion of Africa having been almost accomplished with a rapidity which is even yet bewildering, that of the coasts and islands of the Pacific has begun. Even more surprising changes than the close of the century has witnessed will mark the opening years of the twentieth. Great Britain welcomes to its side the new United States of America, already making the Hawaiian Archipelago a formidable place of arms to guard the civilization of the Pacific, and arbiter of the fate of the vast area and sweltering population of the Philippines, and of part of the Ladrones and Caroline groups.

Old Dr. Inglis, the Scottish Cameronian who civilized the island of Aneityum, used to say that if Homer had possessed our geographical knowledge he would have made the three thousand Oceanides, the daughters of Oceanus and Tethys, to be the goddesses, not of the little rivers he knew, but of the thousand sunny islands of the Pacific. They lie embedded in fifty million square miles of ocean, so quiet comparatively that the late Admiral Fitzroy used the fact as a leading argument for the Panama route from London to Australia. Leaving out Indonesia, the control of which we divide with the Dutch—thanks to Lord Castlereagh's ignorance of geography—and the Portuguese to a slight extent, and omitting our temperate colonies of Australia and New Zealand, the thousand islands are grouped into the divisions of Melanesia, nearest to Australia, Micronesia, to the north of these, and Polynesia, stretching away eastward between the last meridian of longitude, 180 degrees, and South America. The

first Christian to gaze on the Pacific was the Spanish adventurer Balboa, who in 1513 looked south from the peak of Darien, the Sierra de Quarefua, and thanked God he had seen the South Sea. That was fifteen years after Vasco da Gama, on the other side of the world, landed at Calicut, and four years after the Portuguese held Malacca, which has long been a British settlement. In other eight years, in 1521, the Spanish Magellan passed through the strait that bears his name by his westerly course, sailed on over the South Pacific in search of the Portuguese factories, struck the Ladrones, and took possession of the lands long named Magellania, but of late the Philippines to flatter the weakest of Spanish kings. Our own Francis Drake followed him fifty-seven years later.

But all remained barren so long as the reverse route from east to west was unknown. In 1769 that was discovered by Captain Cook, who then completed the exploration of Drake and Magellan. Three years before him Wallis had determined the longitudes in the South Seas by the method of lunar distances, and so began the epoch of methodic exploration. By his observations on the transit of Venus, when he landed at Tahiti, Cook determined a precise longitude in the centre of the Pacific. In the same first voyage he circumnavigated the two islands of New Zealand, surveyed Eastern Australia, and rediscovered Torres Strait. In his second voyage Cook was the first to make the circuit of the globe from west to east, according to the rotation round its axis, two centuries

and a half after Magellan's circumnavigation from east to west, according to the regular course of the trade winds. Cook thus explored the Austral seas on both sides of the Polar circle. His third expedition was devoted to the northern waters, when he rediscovered the Sandwich Islands, where he perished after being received as a deity. Here and then began the decimation of the islanders by the diseases which his sailors introduced, and every generation has since increased after a fashion which Robert Louis Stevenson has made almost too real for us in his stories and word-pictures.* It is believed that Christianity has done much to arrest, at least, the disappearance of the dark races. Certainly medical missionaries have done and are doing something physically as well as morally to atone for the curse which began with the followers

* Of one native missionary in the South Sea Islands Stevenson wrote: "He was the best specimen of the Christian hero I ever met." Of another native missionary, Kekela, who laboured in the cannibal island of Hiva-oa, Mr. Stevenson tells this story: "The boats of an American whaler put into a bay in Hiva-oa shortly after a Peruvian slaver had kidnapped a number of the people. In revenge the islanders attacked the whaler's boats. The boats escaped, but the mate was captured. Kekela saved him from being killed and eaten by giving up as a ransom every valuable he had. He kept the mate in his own house, till one day a ship came in sight; then, at the risk of his own life, he had the mate rowed out to the ship. The American Government sent the brave fellow a gold watch and a sum of money in acknowledgment of his heroic kindness. In his letter of thanks he said: 'When I saw one of your countrymen about to be baked and eaten, as a pig is eaten, I ran to save him, full of pity and grief at the evil deed of these benighted people. As to this friendly deed of mine in saving Mr. Whalon, its seed came from your great land, and was brought by certain of your countrymen, who had received the love of God. It was planted in Hawaii, and I brought it to plant in this land. From your land a most precious seed was brought to the land of darkness. Great is my debt to missionaries, who have taught me all things pertaining to this life and to that which is to come.'"

of Magellan, Drake, and Cook. A century ago Bass discovered the strait which has since borne his name, and the work of exploring the large groups was practically completed in 1827 by the revealing of Fiji.

Great Britain virtually holds the New Hebrides group for the coming federation of the Australasian colonies. These almost Christian islands stretch for four hundred miles north-north-west of New Zealand, from which they are a thousand miles distant, and four hundred miles west of Fiji. Discovered by Cook, civilized by the Scots, watered by the blood of John Williams and the Gordons, and surveyed by the British Navy, these seventy islands, of which thirty are inhabited, are a virtual appanage of Australia. From the circumstance that their convict colony of New Caledonia is only two hundred miles distant, although Cook both discovered and named that island, the French covet the New Hebrides, and have been restrained from seizing the group only by a convention which equally keeps Great Britain from taking formal possession. The position has long been intolerable, and it could not last if the colonies of Australasia united to put pressure on the Colonial Office. It is the case of Egypt over again. As the powers of North America and Europe map out the Pacific coasts and islands anew, as new coaling-stations are formed and fortresses like that planned already at Honolulu are built, and as new lines of swift steamers make the Pacific a lake of the English-speaking peoples, federal Australia must obtain possession of the New Hebrides.

Meanwhile, the Santa Cruz group, to the north of the New Hebrides and Tonga, have been annexed to the British Empire. The two groups have together an area estimated at more than 5,500 square miles, and a population of 70,000, which is every year decreasing.

It is now rather more than three hundred years since, in 1595, Alonzo de Mendana stumbled on the Santa Cruz archipelago when he was trying to rediscover the adjoining Solomon Islands, which he had visited twenty-eight years before. Queiros, who followed him in 1606, was more fortunate, for he first sighted the New Hebrides at their northern and largest island, which he named Espiritu-Santo. How little he knew of the group is evident from his terming it the Great Cyclades, and believing that it was a part of Australia. Here, as elsewhere over half the Pacific Ocean, Captain Cook in 1774 mapped out the islands in a scientific fashion, and gave the name of our Scottish group to the long-stretching insular chain which resembles it. Along with the Solomons, Santa Cruz and the New Hebrides belong to the same geological and ethnographical systems. They are of volcanic, not coralline, origin. Tinakoro, the most northerly member of the Santa Cruz group, is in a constant state of eruption, according to M. Elisée Reclus. Vanikoro, the most southerly, is encircled by a fringing reef, but is itself volcanic. The natives are on the border region between the Melanesians or Negritos and the Polynesians or Malays. Those of

Nukapu, where Bishop Patteson was clubbed to death, are the most mixed of all the savages. They speak a Polynesian language, like that of the Maoris of New Zealand, and their customs are Melanesian. Cannibalism, which has been almost expelled from the southern islands, survives in some of the Santa Cruz cluster.

The climate is most favourable to the fertility of our new acquisition, though not at present to the health of the white planters and traders who try it. In time civilization will greatly improve the health of the settlers. From May to October the southern trade wind blows steadily, and there is abundant moisture, favouring dense vegetation, and even forests. The western gales cause rain-storms and cyclones, which devastate whole islands, like Ambrym in the south recently, and earthquakes are not infrequent. The yam is the food of the people, its harvest giving them their reckoning of the years, and other oceanic fruits are plentiful. The Santa Cruz natives have long had a bad character for ferocity, but that only means that they are careful to take vengeance for the attacks of whites upon themselves. Those of Vanikoro Island are the most dolichocephalous, or have the longest heads, of all human beings. The cause is evidently artificial, the head of the children being deformed by means of boards, which lengthen the skull from back to front, while contracting and lowering it. The murder of Bishop Patteson is only one of the outrages which have given the Santa Cruz islands their bad name. There the great French navi-

gator La Perouse perished in 1788, and his countrymen still call the archipelago by his name. Long after, in 1826, the enterprising Australian Captain Dillon visited the spot at Vanikoro, and brought away the relics of La Perouse's shipwrecked vessels, which are still preserved in Paris. Most recently of all, our own Commodore Goodenough was killed on Santa Cruz Island itself by the natives in 1876. And now, in 1898, the British cruiser *Mohawk* has taken possession of the group abandoned to savagery for the last three hundred years.

But it is as the scene of the martyrdom of JOHN COLERIDGE PATTESON that Santa Cruz will always be remembered by Christendom. Born in 1827, his father Mr. Justice Patteson, and his mother the sister of John Taylor Coleridge; trained at Eton and Oxford, and then influenced by the first BISHOP SELWYN, the great missionary prelate whom he was to succeed, young Patteson had an ideal training. In 1860 he assumed charge of the Melanesian mission of his church, after five years of preparation in New Zealand. From Norfolk Island, halfway between that colony and the islands, he directed the work, educating the choicer converts at headquarters, sailing among still savage peoples, and always, like Selwyn, respecting and aiding the Scottish and London and Wesleyan missionaries, who were his neighbours on either side. His old-fashioned public school and college education had given him what Mr. Gladstone describes as suppleness and elasticity of mind, making him a ready and

sure learner of the various occupations of life in all their shapes. He was schoolmaster, pastor, bishop, and translator, boatman, artisan, and athlete, according to the necessities of his position, all directed by an intense desire to give the natives the very best gifts of religion and civilization with which our empire has been put in trust. He was a saint of the High Church type so far, but symbolism and ritualism his intensely devotional spirit condemned, except when the beauty of the outward form was known and felt to be the shrine of the inward spiritual power. Keble's "Eucharistical Adoration" he pronounced foreign rather than English. He rejoiced in the Colonial Church's position as independent of the State and relying on voluntary alms. From the freedom of his island church he looked with a generous compassion on the difficulties of the Church of England.

During his itinerating apostolate in 1864 two of his clergy fell victims to the revenge of the islanders of Santa Cruz, Messrs. Young and Nobbs, and he himself had at that time a narrow escape. The natives resented the kidnapping and murders committed by the labour vessels of Australia and the Fiji Islands, before the trade was watched by the British High Commissioner and regulated by the Queensland legislation. But he was resolved to give the savages of the Santa Cruz group another chance, when in 1871 he learned that a labour vessel had gone there. Writing home on September 16 of that year, he said: "I pray God that if it be His will, and if it be the appointed time,

He may enable us in His own way to begin some little work among these very wild but vigorous, energetic islanders. I am fully alive to the probability that some outrage has been committed here by one or more vessels." To Nukapu, an islet on the north of Santa Cruz, accordingly he went, to protect its natives from violence. When lowered in his ship's boat he accepted an invitation to go into one of the native canoes in order to disarm suspicion, leaving Atkin, his companion, in the former. The bishop was seen to land, but no more in life. Atkin was struck by an arrow-head of human bone, and died of the wound. But while still in life, he crossed the reef on the rising tide to seek his master, when a canoe drifted towards him. In it was found the body of the martyr, in a native mat, a placid smile still on the face, a palm leaf fastened over the breast, and five gaping wounds —no more. Five knots had been made in the long leaflets of the palm branch. Thus the natives took vengeance for the stealing of five of their number for labour in Fiji, whom they believed to have been killed. His kinswoman, Miss Yonge, who wrote his Life, remarks that his wounds, like those of One greater than he, were five. "And who, in the records of the church, has more nobly won his stigmata?" asks Mr. Gladstone, adding, "The three highest titles that can be given to man are those of martyr, hero, saint; and which of the three is there that in substance it would be irrational to attach to the name of John Coleridge Patteson?" The great statesman

declared him thus to be "a pledge of noble destinies," as he fell only forty-four and a half years old. His body was committed to the waters of the Pacific. His kinsman, Lord Coleridge, erected a wayside cross, with a noble inscription to his memory, near Alfington.

Nearly a generation has passed, and the British Government has now redeemed the pledge. On Nukapu there will doubtless be raised, some day soon, another memorial under the British flag and beside a Christian church. Christian imperialism has, thus far, produced nothing finer than this co-operation of the two great English-speaking races of the United Kingdom and the United States of America in the Pacific Ocean.

V.

PETER GREIG.

(1775–1800.)

THE FIRST MISSIONARY AND MARTYR IN WEST AFRICA.

FOUR years after William Carey went to Bengal, the first Englishman who became a missionary in modern times, there went forth to Africa the first Scotsman who deserves that honourable name. He was Peter Greig, gardener on the Earl of Moray's estate of Donibristle, and of the Secession congregation of Rev. Ebenezer Brown at Inverkeithing.

He was not, indeed, the first Scottish missionary, for that honour is reserved for Sukkath or Patrick, who, from Dumbartonshire, was called to Christianize Ireland. And Columba, who was of the spiritual seed of Patrick, sent forth from Iona and Lindisfarne the missionaries who not only brought the Britons and Saxons to Christ, but, scattered over Central Europe from Erfurt to the Danube, did a work which is still perpetuated by the Schotten-klöster, out of one of which Luther came. In later times, in 1699, the Church of Scotland sent ministers with the un-

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happy Darien Expedition, enjoining them to work among the natives. The Scottish Propagation Society spent the interest of the legacy of Dr. Williams on the two Brainerds, and the English Propagation Society sent the Aberdeenshire Mr. Keith to the plantations of Episcopalians in North America. But these men were rather chaplains than missionaries, and the natives were none the better for their presence, except the Brainerds, who were American colonists, as John Eliot had been. From a bundle of old manuscripts, yellow with the marks of almost a century, let me exhume the still fragrant memory of the first real Scottish missionary of modern times.

The early letters of Carey had directly led to the foundation of the London, the Scottish, and the Glasgow Missionary Societies in 1795–96. The contents were widely circulated, not only by the Baptist *Periodical Accounts*, which Mr. Christopher Anderson used to read from the pulpit of Charlotte Chapel, Rose Street, Edinburgh, but by the *Evangelical Magazine*, started in 1793, and the *Missionary* and *Christian Magazines*, which appeared in Edinburgh soon after. No one pondered and prayed over the news, and the appeals published by Dr. Bogue of Gosport and Greville Ewing of Edinburgh, more than a young gardener in the neighbourhood of Inverkeithing, from which also in later days Robert Moffat was to give himself to the same glorious enterprise. Peter Greig was wont, when the day's toil was over, to visit his

minister, Ebenezer Brown, at the manse. But he was too modest even to enter it. Like Carey in his love of nature, in his Christ-like yearning for the heathen, and in his earnest gentleness, he would beseech Mr. Brown to go with him into the darkness of the church, that there he might speak freely that of which his soul was full. Encouraged by his minister, he offered himself to the Scottish or, as it was then called, the Edinburgh Missionary Society, to go out to West Africa as a catechist missionary. These were days when the only ordained ministers of any church found willing to go to the heathen were the then Presbyterians Bogue, Innes, and Ewing, whom Robert Haldane wished to take with him to Benares.

Ebenezer Brown of Inverkeithing was one of a remarkable family. His father, John Brown of Haddington, was the great Bible commentator and preacher of Scotland last century. He and his two brothers became ministers at Dalkeith, Whitburn, and Inverkeithing. The later generation has carried on the succession to the present time; while in the author of *Rab and his Friends* and *Horæ Subsecivæ* the name is lovingly perpetuated in Scottish literature. Ebenezer Brown was early filled with the missionary spirit. He began the penny-a-week societies for the circulation of the Bible which, in Inverkeithing first, resulted in the formation of the great Bible societies. The Gaelic School Society, which he founded with the help of Charles of Bala,

supplemented the work of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which supported the Brainerds in America. He corresponded with Dr. Mackintosh of Tain, who founded the Northern Missionary Society. While Scotland continued to hold back from foreign missionary effort worthy of the cause, Ebenezer Brown established in Inverkeithing a society for the support of native Hindu preachers so early as the year 1823. He had the genius to see what the missionary organizations are only now fully realizing—that India and the East are to be evangelized only by their own sons. His circular of April 22, 1823, has proposals which might be renewed in the twentieth century:—

"The employment of native missionaries has many recommendations. The climate and the language are their own. With the manners and opinions of the people they are perfectly familiar. It is found that ten guineas a year will support one of those native preachers. What would you think of the following scheme?—That in each of the parishes in Scotland a society might be formed for the support of a Hindu native preacher.....In this way Scotland might support NINE HUNDRED preachers of the gospel."* Such was the man who trained and sent forth the first modern missionary to West Africa.

To the friends of the godly gardener, called by the Spirit as really as Paul himself was, it seemed mad-

* See *A Short Memoir* prefixed to *Sermons of the late Rev. Ebenezer Brown.* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Son. 1838.)

ness and folly to dream of facing the perils of Africa. But Peter Greig persevered with a humble zeal which found expression in this letter to the Rev. Greville Ewing, the society's secretary. In the quaint phraseology and spelling it is now of historical interest. What labouring man of any other country could have produced such an epistle in the year 1796?

"Revd. and Dear Sir,—I received your valuable sutable and sesonable letter which tended remarkably to my direction and comfort. I could wish that I were able to say on good grounds with Mary Perth, it brought me frequently on my kneews with an overflowing heart. Shure a more freindly and better letter I never did receive. What am I or what is my Fathers house that I should be this kindly delt with so far beyond my expectation. I have now acquainted my freinds with what I intend to do, theye are unwilling to comply with my leaving of my native land with avew to propegate the Gosple in an unsivilaised nation and would have me by all meins constrained to stay at home. may I be under the sweet and powerfulley constraining influences of the dieing Love of Jesus Christ and then would I willingly forsake all and follow him knowing that if any man love father or mother sister or brother houses or lands more than Christ he is not worthy of Him. at the same time if I will not yeild to there desires—theye wish to know what time I may go forth and where the place of my destination is. Dear sir I learn from your letter that it will be unnecessar for me to come over to Edinr. before I go and see them. if you could form an Idea with regard to these two particulars it might tend to ease the mind of my mother and freinds and at the same time administer comfort to unworthy me who has been discurraged with I hope groundless reports from different quarters informing me of

along stay in Edinr. before I go forth. for my part I wish to be resigned to the will of the Lord. may the language of my heart be what Thou wilt when and where Thou wilt my soul wait thou on the Lord. I have perused the passages of scripture you pointed out to me which are so well adapted to my particular case in the vews of so important undertakings O that when I reid the word I were eneabled to look up to the spirit of wisdom for illumination that He might open mine eyes to behold the winderous things contained in the Law and Gospel may He who commanded the light to shine out of darkness shine into my heart to give me the light of the knowledge of the Glory of God shining in the feace of Jesus Christ. then then would it have its desired effect and become the power of God in my salvation. O that I and all who have gone or may go as Missionarys to the heathen worald felt but something of the disposition of the Apoastle Paul tho but in afaint degree then would we like Him not confer with flesh and blood but go and preach and teach Christ among the heathen and tell the Gentiles about the unchearchable riches of the Saviour then would the word of Christ dwell in our whole man richly in all wisdom continually to oppose the wicked one and his suggestions to apply precious promises to our own case for comfort and concelation and endeavour by meins thereof to comfort others and this speake aword in season to the weary soul then would the word of Christ be the ground of our hope the sourse of our comfort the matter of our boast our chief Study and delight and the Doctrines of the Cross our cheif and only Glory then would we count all our atainments and self rightuousness but loss and dung for the excellancy of the knowledge of Christ and His rightuousness then would we willingly spend and be spent for the cause and interest of Christ then would we be willing to become all things to all men if by aney meins we might gain some then would we glory in tribulation and count it an honour to be thought worthy to suffer for the

Name of Jesus and His Gospel then would we have awarm heart to Christ and ardent desires for the good of souls and make it appear by using every mein in our power for there good then by the blissing of God we might be instramental in bringing many in a heathen worald to the knowledge of Christ from darkness to light from bondage to the liberty of Christ and from the power of satan to God that theye may receive the forgiveness of all there sins and inheretaince among them that are sanctifyed through the Faith of Christ If theye were our dispositions feelings and resolutions then would we have the spirit of missionareys and the qualifications which is necessar for them to possess and then finally with the great apoastle of the Gentiles we might have cause to say indue tim we have fought the good fight we have kept the faith and finished our course hence there is laid up for us acrown of Glory which the Lord the righteious Judge will give at that Day That all happyness may attend you and the rest of the Society that your Labours may be crowened with succes and tend to the furtherance of the gospel and the inlargment of the Redimers Kingdom is the desire of Dear Sir your truly affectionat much oblidged and humble servant, PETER GREIG.

"DONIBRISTLE, *Nov. 7th 1796.*"

Peter Greig was appointed, and was partially trained for a short time. Along with him were the Rev. Henry Brunton, who afterwards practically did chaplain's work until he was transferred to Russia, and two men sent out by the Glasgow Society, who proved to be failures. The two first were "solemnly set apart to the office of catechist missionaries among the heathen" on Friday, September 22, 1797, at "an extraordinary public meeting in Mr. Peddie's

meeting-house, Bristo Street." Mr. Hall of Rose Street preached from Phil. iii. 8, a text which proved to be literally prophetic in Greig's case: "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord." Dr. Johnstone of North Leith then constituted the meeting of the truly catholic society by prayer. Mr. Ewing, as secretary, charged the missionaries, and presented each with a Bible, the beautiful custom in those days and long after. Mr. Peddie prayed and concluded the "deeply affecting" service, the crowd attending which on a week-day offered £64. The day was the anniversary of the sailing of the London Society's ship *Duff* for Tahiti, and this "accidental coincidence was remarked with pleasure." The missionary-gardener took with him agricultural and other implements, to introduce the useful arts in connection with the gospel. Those fathers of the Scottish Missionary Society were wise and foreseeing men, anticipating what the latest experience of the church among the savage races of Africa, down to Livingstone, Stewart, and Laws, has fully confirmed. The society's funds stood at above £2,300.

Ten years before that the early Abolitionists had founded, on the fertile peninsula of Sierra Leone, an asylum for runaway slaves, such as had attracted the compassion of Mr. Granville Sharpe in the streets of London. Hardly had the new colony been saved from the attacks of a neighbouring chief, by the Sierra Leone Company, which had imported the

negroes of the West India regiments disbanded on the declaration of American Independence, when in 1794 the French destroyed Freetown, the capital. The governor at that time was the father of Lord Macaulay, and it was on his advice that the four Scottish and two London missionaries were sent to the pagan tribes around Sierra Leone, which did not become a Crown colony till 1808.

After waiting in vain for a convoy to protect them from the French privateers, the six sailed in the *Calypso*, a ship of 160 tons, and were safely landed at Freetown in November 1797. The month's voyage was not, however, hopeful in other respects. Brunton prided himself on his theological training, seeing that he had been educated for the ministry, and this offended the Glasgow catechists. Sharp theological discussions caused a perpetual storm to rage on board. In all this Peter Greig was the peacemaker, and he prevailed with his own colleague to act the Christ-like part of seeking for forgiveness which the rude ignorance of the others refused. Intended for the fierce tribe of the Foulahs, fetich-worshippers who had largely embraced the intolerant doctrines of Islam, Greig and Brunton were sent to the Susoos, on the Rio Pongas, 120 miles north. There, under the wing of the company's factory, as Governor Zachary Macaulay planned with his large Christian heart, they learned the language, they evangelized among the peaceful people, and they prepared to operate from that as a base on the cruel

Foulahs of the uplands, all the traders among whom could talk Susoo.

The mission was full of promise; but God had other designs for it at that time. Not only that, but all the attempts then and subsequently by the Church Missionary Society failed to Christianize the outlying races *first*, as if to concentrate effort on Sierra Leone itself, and make it what it has since become, the fruitful nursery of native teachers and ministers for the great mission-fields of the Niger and the Yoruba. Brunton and Greig at least reduced the Susoo language to writing, and printed in it several portions of the Scriptures and some good books. There, in 1854, when a missionary from Barbadoes lay dispirited by fever, the native chief roused him to new energy by repeating the *Te Deum*, which he had learned in his youth, when under the care of Thomas Scott the commentator, to whom he had paid a visit. In the Banana Islands, opposite the spot, John Newton had half a century before been, as he expressed it in his epitaph on the walls of his church of St. Mary Woolnoth, "once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa," suffering cruel wrongs at the hands of the negro mistress of his slave-trading master.

During the two years of his missionary career, briefer than that of David Brainerd, Peter Greig prayed and laboured and suffered in the Susoo country around Kondia, the headquarters of the chief Fantimanee, in the fever-stricken valley of the Rio Pongas.

Such was the fever that when seized he would lie down at once on the spot; and more than once he thus nearly lost his life, which was saved by the neighbouring slave-traders. Brunton, too, in the interval of his own frequent sickness, nursed his companion, until he left to be chaplain at Freetown. Still Peter Greig had passed through the worst, and was making way with the Susoos. They feared his pointed reproofs and vivid denunciation of their hideous sins. They listened respectfully to his preaching, kept the Sabbath, and ceased from the more savage forms of vice and crime. Education was not neglected; probably the most hopeful part of the young missionary's work was the training of the Susoo lads in his own rude home, whom he hoped to send as missionaries to their countrymen and to the wild and able Foulahs beyond, whose fathers the wave of Saracenic invasion had driven from the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Mr. Robert Alexander, charged by Mr. Lothian of the Associate Congregation of Portsburgh, and prayed over by Dr. Johnstone and Mr. Ireland of Leith, was sent out to be his new colleague. "Be a true yoke-fellow to that amiable young man and truly Christian missionary, Mr. Greig," said Mr. Lothian. A confidential letter, dated 17th October 1798, to a brother missionary who was sailing in the second voyage of the *Duff* to the South Seas, appeared in the *Missionary Magazine* of May 1799, and it gives a vivid picture of the first Scottish missionary at work.

The year 1800 opened hopefully; but the end was at hand. Seven men of the Foulah tribe visited Peter Greig, avowedly to inquire into the way of salvation. With true missionary hospitality he took them into his own house, already somewhat full with Susoo boys, and he sought to attach all the seven to himself by showing them the various European articles which he had. The evening of the 31st January passed pleasantly, and Peter Greig retired to rest with the hope that he had thus secured the entrance into Foulah-land which he had persistently sought. But the covetousness of these traders had been aroused. Their leader, to whom Mr. Greig had presented a razor, rose at midnight, and with it tried to cut the throat of the sleeping missionary. One Susoo boy saw the attempt, and hid himself in terror. The missionary, thus roused, fought hard for life, when the Foulah, knocking him down by a stroke of an axe on the temples, stabbed him with a cutlass, and then cut his throat from ear to ear. Joined by his six companions, the assassin plundered the house and fled. They were pursued by the Susoos of Kondia, who recovered much of the booty, and brought back four of the robbers in chains. Fantimanee, the chief, behaved well, "but, ah, their punishment will not bring back to life our much-lamented friend, nor restore to the world or to the poor African his useful labours and truly Christian example," is the sad cry of the directors of the Edinburgh Missionary Society.

Thus the first Scottish and United Presbyterian missionary died for Africa, as the schoolman Raymund Lulli had done in a still darker age at the hands of the Foulahs' forefathers, as Livingstone and James Stewart, C.E., have truly done since, though in different circumstances. The seed of blood, the corn of wheat which dies before it can live its wider life, are producing a glorious harvest unto life eternal. The church of Ebenezer Brown has good reason to hallow the memory of the martyr missionary, Peter Greig.

The work which Peter Greig thus began, and in which he fell, was taken up four years afterwards by the Church Missionary Society, whose two first missionaries were sent in 1804 to the Susoo tribes on the Rio Pongas. Edward Bickersteth in 1816 brought to England the son of a Susoo chief as the first-fruit of the West African Mission. The boy died in the Church mission-house.*

In 1816 that society's efforts were concentrated upon the colony of Sierra Leone, which had, since the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, become the depôt for negroes rescued from slave-ships by the British cruisers. Much blessing attended the labours of W. A. B. Johnson and other missionaries, and in 1822 nearly two thousand of the freed slaves, adults and children, were in the mission schools, several

* See Mr. Eugene Stock's great book, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men, and Its Work: 1899.*

thousands were attending public worship, and some hundreds had become sincere Christians. The work continued to prosper, but at a great cost of life—fifty-three missionaries and missionaries' wives dying between 1804 and 1824. In 1851 the Bishopric of Sierra Leone was founded, and the first three bishops —Vidal, Weeks, and Bowen (the two latter Church Missionary Society's missionaries)—died within three years of their consecration. Since them the following have succeeded to the charge of the diocese: Bishops Beckles (1860–69), Cheetham (1870–81), Ingham (1882–96), Taylor Smith (1897). In 1842 a Parliamentary Committee attributed the "considerable intellectual, moral, and religious improvement" of the people to "the valuable exertions of the Church Missionary Society more especially." Port Lokkoh was occupied from 1840–50 and reoccupied in 1875, and Sinkunia in 1897.

In 1862 the Sierra Leone Church was organized on an independent basis, and undertook the support of its own pastors, churches, and schools, aided by a small grant from the society. In 1876 the Sierra Leone Church Missionary Society was founded, and has since carried on the outlying missions established by the Church Missionary Society in the Bullom and Quiah countries. One hundred African clergymen have been ordained on the west coast (including Yoruba and the Niger). Several of them are Government chaplains.

Sierra Leone is no longer the small peninsula

originally so called, but a country as large as the whole of Scotland. It has increased twenty-fold within the past twenty years, and is now 250 miles from north to south, and 180 miles from east to west, and has an area of 30,000 square miles. A railway is under construction, and the first train was run for a short distance in the summer of 1896.

VI.

JOHN VANDERKEMP, M.D.

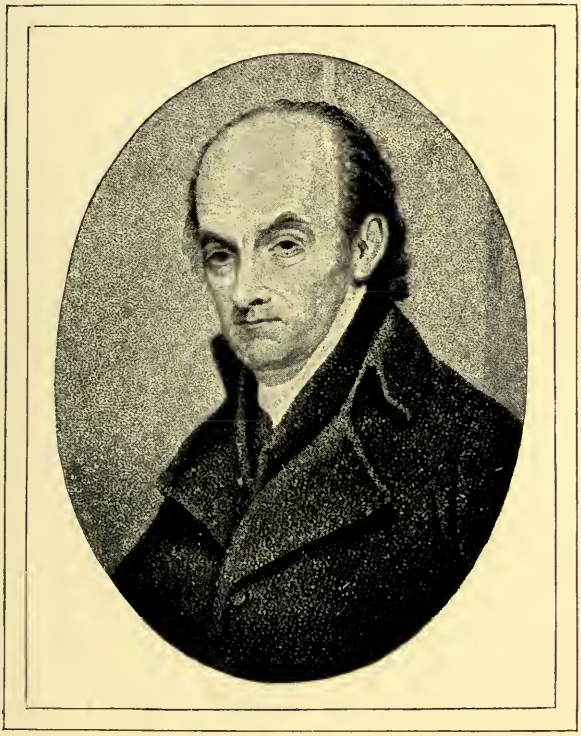
(1748–1811.)

THE FIRST MEDICAL MISSIONARY TO AFRICA.

OF the good and the great men whom the London Missionary Society commemorated in 1895, the hundredth year of its beneficent history, the earliest and perhaps the noblest was the Rotterdam scientist, captain of dragoons, landed proprietor, and Doctor of Medicine of the University of Edinburgh, Johannes Theodosius van der Kemp. His career was almost as romantic as that of the East India sea-captain, James Wilson. His scholarship was more exact and extensive than even that of his other contemporary, Robert Morrison, who first revealed the Chinese language to the West, and translated into it the Bible. His life among the Kafirs and Hottentots was even more self-sacrificing and his practical skill in handicraft more remarkable than those of his junior, John Williams, who opened the Pacific Ocean to the gospel in a ship of his own construction, and died a martyr's death at Eromanga. Vanderkemp's

twelve years in South and Eastern Africa pointed the way to Robert Moffat and David Livingstone, alike as a medical missionary and a philanthropic protector of the dark races against the selfishness of his Boer countrymen, and of the English settlers. He was, finally, the first to project a mission to Madagascar, which only his death in 1811 compelled him to leave to successors, who have given the Hova nation the Christian civilization which the French Republic is now, unhappily, threatening.

John Vanderkemp, as his name is always given by the English, of whom he was proud to be a fellow-citizen, was born at Rotterdam in the year 1748. He was the son of a Dutch Lutheran minister, and the brother of a professor of divinity in the University of Leyden. After careful home training, the boy was sent to the High School of Leyden, and he passed at an early age into its University. His college career redeemed, by its brilliancy, the promise of his early boyhood. He mastered philosophy, mental and mathematical, and theology; but he started back from the church under the double influence of scepticism and a life of pleasure. He became, to use his own language long after, the slave of vice and ungodliness. At twenty he entered the Dragoon Guards. Three years afterwards he received the brevet rank of captain, so thorough was his mastery of military tactics and his profession. Then he married Christiana Helena Frank, and outwardly, at least, seemed to reform his habits of life.



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After sixteen years of remarkable military service, he returned to the University, where he began the practical study of medicine. Black and Hutton, the Bells and the Hunters, had at that time raised the Edinburgh school of science and healing to the position it has ever since maintained, and Vanderkemp, in the ripeness of his powers, sat for two years at the feet of its professors, and worked in its laboratories. In the year 1782 he there graduated M.D., the title of his thesis being *De Vita.* Then he wrote and published a learned Latin treatise on cosmology, under the title of *Parmenides,* a second edition of which appeared at Dort in 1798. In the same year he published at Leyden a second treatise, under the title of *Tentamen Theologiae Dunatoscopicae,* in which he applied his method to the question of the existence and attributes of God.

Confirmed in his purely rationalist theism by his Edinburgh experience of the friends of David Hume, who had died not long before, and of Adam Smith, whose influence was supreme, Dr. Vanderkemp began to practise as a physician at Middelburg, near Flushing. There his professional reputation, and now high personal character, made him known all over the Netherlands. He absolutely restricted the number of his patients to twelve, declaring that only thus could he study every case as it deserved, and give his undivided attention to the cure of each. At the height of his fame he suddenly retired to Dort, where he resolved to settle down as a country gentleman

and give himself to literary research. He seems always to have enjoyed a good income. The old provincial town of Dort, or Dordrecht, stands on an island in the Maas, not far from one of the three mouths by which it falls into the North Sea. When he was boating with his family, on June 27, 1791, a violent squall swept the river; his wife and daughter perished, and he was found by the crew of a drifting vessel, clinging to the upturned boat, a mile below the scene of the disaster.

John Vanderkemp, then forty-three years of age, thus saved to bewail the loss of wife and child, became changed for ever. His bare theism broke down. His opposition to the supernatural in the person of Christ disappeared. His remorse for the sins of his youth, for which he had sought pardon in continued prayer to God for punishment, and which "had proved utterly ineffectual to produce even the lowest degree of virtue in my soul," had resulted in despair. He had long given up partaking of the Lord's Supper. But now, entering church on the Sunday after his loss and his rescue, his prevailing impression was thus described by himself: "Examine the Christian system once more, and you will judge otherwise; but eat now of this bread, and remember your new Master." His case was that of Augustine, and he found it described so accurately in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans that he was astonished. Writing of this time, he declared: "When the Lord Jesus first revealed Himself to me,

He did not reason with me about truth and error, but attacked me like a warrior, and felled me to the ground by the power of His arm." All this he afterwards worked out in his Dutch commentary on that Epistle, which appeared at Dort in the year 1802, under the title of *Theodicée van Paulus.* The war with France led to the erection of a large hospital near Rotterdam, and Vanderkemp was at once appointed its director. Now his military experience and his medical skill were directed by the highest of all motives. The place became a house of rest and healing for both soul and body under his organization. Like Paul, his moral antecedents caused him for a time to be distrusted by many, who closely watched his conduct. Personally, he acted as chaplain to the sick every Sunday, and he supplied spiritual instruction and consolation by an evangelist of his own appointment.

While thus occupied, he received from a Moravian correspondent at Herrnhut a copy of the address by which Dr. David Bogue, Scots minister of Gosport, encouraged by the success of Carey's Baptist Society, appealed to "professors of the gospel" to send out twenty or thirty missionaries, and so founded the London Missionary Society on September 21, 1795. Deborah's curse of the inhabitants of Meroz, "because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty," so fell upon the great physician that he cried out, "Here am I, Lord Jesus; Thou knowest that I have no will of my own since I

gave myself up to Thee to be spent in Thy service according to Thy pleasure.....Lead me in the right way, if there yet be any way of wickedness in me." He then invited the new society to issue an address to the people of Holland specially, by whom his Dutch translation was received "with uncommon avidity," being circulated by the thousand. It resulted in the foundation of the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1797, and the volunteering of young Kicherer as a missionary. Dr. Vanderkemp twice visited London, where his saintly wisdom and learning so impressed the directors, that they urged him to undertake a mission to one of the civilized peoples of the East whose language and philosophy he knew. But his humility and his foresight prevailed. William Carey and Schwartz were already in India, north and south; the *Duff* was going forth with its consecrated cargo to the South Seas. He would spend his life among the oppressed races of South Africa, and use its eastern province as a stepping-stone to Madagascar.

As if all the philosophy of Leyden, the science of Edinburgh, and the theology of Dort were insufficient to qualify this Dutch physician and gentleman to be the first medical missionary to Africa, he must needs work with his own hands in the labour of making bricks, so qualifying himself to be the first of a century of industrial missionaries, down to Alexander Mackay, James Stewart, and Robert Laws. In the neighbourhood of London, the philanthropic scholar was seen toiling for many days in the brickfields, like another Peter the

Great, in the shipwright yards, as was remembered and said on Vanderkemp's death. The Scots Church in Crown Court, London, was the scene of his public ordination, when, with his countryman Kicherer, and Edwards, he was set apart, by ministers of all evangelical sects, to begin and superintend the new mission to South Africa. He chose, for the conveyance of himself and the party to the Cape of Good Hope, the Government transport *Hillsborough*, which carried male convicts to Botany Bay. Just before Christmas Day in 1798 she sailed in company with the *Duff*, which took out the second party of forty missionaries to the Pacific, only to be captured by a French privateer near Rio Janeiro. After fifteen weeks of an awful voyage, of storm without and mortality within, the convict ship reached the Cape. Vanderkemp alone was able to quell the rioting of the prisoners, and save the officers from destruction. Disease followed mutiny, till the vessel became an infected hospital. Day and night the four missionaries ministered to the dying, while the doctor's skill saved not a few, and true converts to Christ were gained.

Vanderkemp was fifty-one years of age when he entered on his twelve years' mission. As a Netherlander, yet a Scottish university graduate, and the first representative of a London society, he seemed specially fitted to conciliate the warring colonist parties in South Africa. But these parties, and especially the Boers, have always been marked by unkind and even hostile treatment of the native

races. Only the foresight, as well as the sense of justice and humanity, of men like Vanderkemp and Livingstone, Stewart and Don, has been able, with the occasional sympathy of governors like Sir George Grey, to rescue the stronger Kafir varieties, and prove that the "red" savages may be transformed into civilized wealth-producing Christian communities. Sir Francis Dundas, acting as governor after April 1801, assisted the distinguished Netherlander; "the South African Society for Promoting the Spread of Christ's Kingdom" was founded in Cape Town; the Moravians, then at Bavian's Kloof, supplied a famous elephant-hunter as guide and interpreter; and De Beer, a godly Boer, received his countryman with joy when he preached his first sermon to the Kafirs, and speeded him on, through lions and snow-clad hills, to Graaff-Reinet. There his first act was to find the latitude of the place. He carefully collected materials for an account of the religion, customs, population, language, history, and natural productions of the Kafirs and their country, which will be found in *The Missionary Transactions*, vol. i.

His life threatened by Nggika, the chief, and deserted by his companion Edmonds, who desired to go to Bengal, Vanderkemp turned to the Hottentots, and removed with eighty of these to Botha's Plain, some eight miles from Algoa Bay. There, associated with Mr. Read, he worked out the first industrial institution, encouraged by Governor Dundas, and the two ministered to the neighbouring English garrison.

On the withdrawal of Great Britain and the restoration of the colony to Holland, Governor Janssens settled them to the west, at Zwart's Kopf River, and there their third mission of Bethelsdorp soon flourished. But Dutch ascendency encouraged the Boers to persecute Vanderkemp and Read as agents of an English society who were disturbing the labour market. The two missionaries were driven into Cape Town in time to witness the battle of Blaauwberg on January 8, 1806, when the colony became British for the second time. Sir David Baird, the Indian hero, invited Vanderkemp to advise him as to the native prisoners of war, and sent him back to Bethelsdorp, with the concession of land to his mission. It was at this time that Henry Martyn met Vanderkemp, of whose letters he had thus written in his *Journal* three years before: "Read Dr. Vanderkemp's mission to Kafraria. What a man! In heaven I shall think myself well off if I obtain but the lowest seat among such, though now I am fond of giving myself a high one." For five weeks, in and around Cape Town, the two, with Read, held much high converse, which closed with this note, as Henry Martyn sailed away to India, Persia, and Armenia, to find a solitary grave in Tokat, just after Vanderkemp's death: "Dear Dr. Vanderkemp gave me a Syriac Testament as a remembrance of him."

Restored to his medical and industrial centre of light at Bethelsdorp, Vanderkemp made it more prosperous than ever. Of its thousand inhabitants, in

1810, he writes that their "industry appears to increase. The work of God's converting grace is also manifest among the people. After six years' labour it has attained such a degree of solidity that it may be committed to the care of another missionary, which will enable me to devote some subsequent days of my far-advanced age to His service among some of the nations hitherto ignorant of the way of salvation." Here he completed his *Theodicée*, of which the editor in Holland had written in his preface to the first volume: "The author, who is really a great man, but now become a child in the kingdom of heaven, is ready to sacrifice all earthly pleasures, and to make himself useful with all his knowledge and power, for the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ among the heathen." Here he wrote a manual of obstetrics for the use of his settlement. Here he continued, working at his own charges always to redeem many from slavery. We learn indirectly from R. Philip's *Life of John Campbell of Kingsland*, who was sent out to succeed him, that he married a native wife, daughter of an African, whom he had thus rescued. Never did missionary so live in the spirit of the Master, for the salvation of the lowest of every race and colour, the convict and the slave, since Eligius of Noyon (A.D. 588–658) ransomed our Saxon forefathers when they were exposed for sale in the court of King Clotaire the Second.

Now, thought Vanderkemp, the time for Madagascar had come. His dream of long ago he set out

to realize by obtaining the permission of the new governor, Lord Caledon, to make a tour north through the country of the Tambookies and along the east coast to a point opposite Madagascar, establishing a chain of mission stations. It has taken nearly a century to complete his project, for Pondoland became British only the other day. While strengthening the base of all his operations by stimulating missionary enthusiasm in Cape Town, and awaiting the arrival there of Mr. Pacalt to accompany him in his heroic but premature enterprise, he was cheered by Sir John Craddock, and by a letter from a missionary who had touched at the Isle of France on his way to India, and told him Madagascar was open. But not to him, for whom there was reserved the rest that precedes the higher service. On December 7, 1811, he was seized with violent fever, and on the fifteenth he passed away, leaving to his society * and the church the legacy of his unfinished work, exclaiming, "All is well!—light!"

In the years since that bright Cape December, how fast the Light has been travelling around the continent, and into its darkest recesses! But as yet it is only the ruddy dawn. Since the Saracens, following the Vandals as Augustine of Hippo lay dying, swept away the great missionary church of North Africa, leaving only the miserable Copts and degraded

* Since this was written Mr. Lovett has given the details of the first mission to South Africa in his *History of the London Missionary Society*, 1899.

Abyssinians, there have been four notable pioneers of the great army which is yet to take possession of Africa and its Madagascar island for Christ—Raymund Lulli, Spaniard, martyr at Bona; Peter Greig, Scotsman, martyr near Sierra Leone; Vanderkemp of Rotterdam and Edinburgh, whose dust lies in Cape Town; and David Livingstone, whose heart is buried in the centre of Africa, while his tomb in Westminster Abbey ever silently summons Great Britain not to rest till Light and Liberty have removed the old curse from the millions of Africa.

VII.

ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D., LL.D.

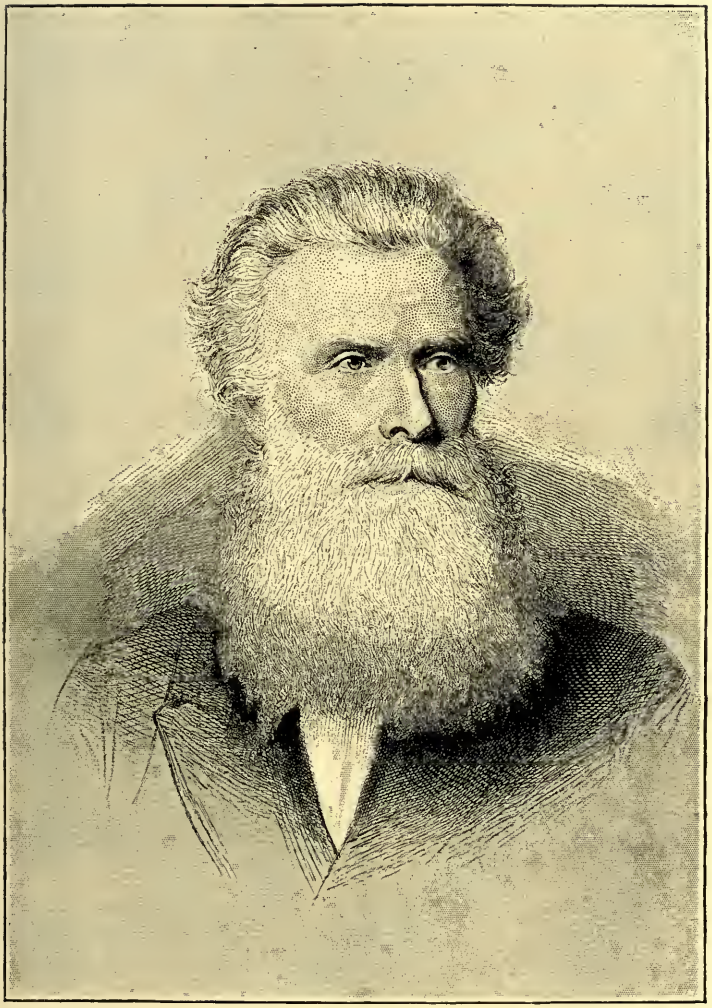
(1806–1878.)

THE CHRISTIAN EDUCATOR OF SOUTHERN ASIA.

UPON the roll of missionaries sent out to India and China by Denmark, England, and Scotland during the past century and a half there stand out six names, from Christian Frederick Schwartz, born in 1726, to Alexander Duff, who died in 1878. When the German Schwartz passed away from Southern India in 1798, the English Carey had already begun his work for all Northern India in Serampore. There he was visited by the American Judson, who from a Presbyterian had become a Baptist, and for nearly forty years, ending 1850, evangelized Burma. Parallel with Carey's work in Bengal and the early part of Judson's in Burma was that of the Scottish Congregationalist, Morrison, under the protection of the East India Company, in China, or from 1807 to his death in 1834, a few months after Carey. Western India had not been cared for aright till 1828, when John Wilson went

to it from Edinburgh University, thenceforth to be identified with progress of every kind in the regions around Bombay, and from Eastern Africa to Persia, down to his death in 1875. But in all this pioneering work, which extended over the breadth of Southern Asia from Canton to Abyssinia, the very centre from which the civilizing and evangelizing influences could most effectually radiate had been neglected till, in August 1830, the young Highlander, Alexander Duff, opened an English school in a Bengali house in Calcutta.

That put the keystone in the apostolic arch upon which the sure fabric of Christian truth has since been slowly raised. Whatever else or more Dr. Duff proved himself to be, as a man of a noble chivalry and a rare spiritual humility, as a personality of irresistible force and eloquent persuasiveness, as an organizer and administrator who worked out a system which all other Protestant churches have since pronounced to be the most successful in its conflict with the false and effete civilization of Brahmanism, his peculiar merit was this: in the right place and at the right time he had the foresight and the God-given grace to drop into the very heart of the decaying mass of Oriental idolatry the little leaven which is surely leavening the whole lump. The working of the fermenting power he watched and guided, so far as man might do it, all through his Indian career of thirty-four years, and from his truly *episcopus*-like position at home till his death on February 12, 1878.



ALEXANDER DUFF, AT SEVENTY.

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All the six men had so much in common as to surprise those who study their lives in contrast and comparison. Of varied nationalities, though five were English-speaking; of different sections of the Church of Christ—Lutheran and Baptist, Independent and Presbyterian; of scholarly training and tastes, alike as philologists and theologians; with a consuming zeal that Christ should be revealed to and in the six hundred millions of Asiatics, to whom they gave the Bible in the learned and vernacular tongues, and all western truth in the language of the conqueror; these six men spent each some forty years among the natives, passed the old man's limit of seventy years, and died rejoicing in their labours, regretful only that they could not go on working for such a Master. All rose from humble life to be consecrated by that work, as the Apostles themselves were, and to be inspired by it in a degree second only to the Eleven and to St. Paul, who saw the Lord. The story of each, however, is very different from that of the others. If, to complete it, we add the brief career of the Anglican, Henry Martyn, who was both a missionary and a well-paid chaplain, we shall have a combination of powers and graces, of methods and results, such as more exquisitely illustrates the "gifts for men" and "the unity of the faith" than anything in the Christian centuries since St. John.

Dr. Duff's special work is, then, worth telling in detail. It was my privilege to act along with him in the second half of the conflict as a Fellow of the

University of Calcutta. The whole story forms one of the most brilliant chapters in the history, not only of Christian missions, but of educational progress, and of the civilization of a subjugated empire by the governing race. It furnishes an Oriental analogy to the influence of Rome in the conversion of the northern nations, and to that of Greece in the Renascence and Reformation of Europe.

Born on April 25, 1806, at Moulin, in the very heart of Scotland, of Gaelic-speaking parents, Alexander Duff began life with the significant advantage of being a two-language man. In the parish kirk Charles Simeon's convert, Dr. Stewart, had shown his parents the "new light," and the boy was prepared for the call from God Himself, as he believed, who in a vision summoned him to His service. St. Andrews University and Dr. Chalmers, when its Professor of Moral Philosophy, completed the training, which could not have been more specialized had the student's future been known to himself and his teachers. He went forth the first missionary of the old historic Church of Scotland, to India, to its capital Calcutta, at the very time when his divine message through the new method was specially suited to the needs of India, its Brahmans, and its government. The hour had struck, and the man appeared, as truly as when St. Paul first entered Antioch and Rome; or Pantænus handed over his work at Alexandria to Clement, and himself sailed for Western India; or Columba landed at Iona; or Boniface began the Christian

civilization of Germany and Europe; or Wiclif, Luther, and Knox reformed the Christian Church.

Alexander Duff was twenty-five years of age when, in the heat of May 1830, twice shipwrecked, he stepped on the muddy strand of Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck, with his equally Christian wife, was the Governor-General. Macaulay was soon to follow him, and Macaulay's brother-in-law, Charles Trevelyan, was ready to co-operate. Metcalfe, who was to give India a free Press, was in the Council. John Marshman was ready to carry on the work of Carey, then within four years of his death. The other missionaries, few and feeble—in North India, at least—had for years effected little by irregular street preaching, which left the influential castes and classes unmoved, and hardly touched the villages.

Thanks to Charles Grant and Wilberforce, the charter passed by Parliament in 1813 had compelled the East India Company to permit missionaries to land in India and China—to which, indeed, it appointed a bishop and Scottish chaplains—and to grant not less than £10,000 a year for "the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories of India." Up to that time Warren Hastings had founded a Madrissa in Calcutta, to conciliate the Mohammedans and to prepare officials for the law courts; while Jonathan Duncan, afterwards Governor of Bombay,

had established a Sanskrit college in Benares for the same ends among the Hindus. In England and Scotland the intellectual systems of such teachers as Bell, formerly a Madras chaplain, and Lancaster, had led to the foundation of the British and Foreign and the National School Societies. The Court of Directors were evidently puzzled how to spend the educational grant exacted of them by Parliament; so they did one wise and one foolish thing. They directed the application of Bell's monitorial system to the village schools of India, an order long neglected; and they recommended the instruction of Hindus, by grants of money, in their own learned language, which was then supposed to contain "many excellent systems of ethics." This latter suggestion was at once grasped at by Lord Minto's Government, under whom were two Orientalists so enthusiastic as Henry Thomas Colebrooke and Horace Hayman Wilson. English, the language of the only truth within reach of the people, of commerce, and of administration, was utterly neglected. A new Sanskrit college was founded in Calcutta with one-fourth of the parliamentary grant. The rest, and much more, was squandered, partly in stipends to lazy and bigoted Mohammedans and Hindus, and partly in the publication of tons of Oriental books, which proved to be useless either for true scholars or the simplest educational purposes. The only attempt to care for the mass of the people through their village schools and in their vernaculars was made by the

earlier missionaries, Marshman and May, with some encouragement from Lord Hastings, the enlightened Governor-General.

But the middle-class Bengalis of Calcutta determined to obtain a knowledge of English, if only to qualify them for appointments and clerkly duties in mercantile offices, as commerce developed. Most friendly to the object was one David Hare, a London tradesman, who, having married an Aberdeen wife, settled as a watchmaker in Calcutta, where one of the principal streets bears his name. He was illiterate and a sceptic, but he did not rest until he had induced the Chief Justice, Sir Hyde East, and Rammohun Roy, the theist who died in this country, to unite with him in establishing the *Vidalaya*, or Anglo-Indian, or Hindu, or Presidency College, by all which names it has since been known. In 1817, this, the first public school in India for teaching English, was opened with twenty pupils. Scepticism of the Tom Paine stamp, immorality, and mismanagement, reduced the enterprise to such a state that its native managers obtained the supervision of Government, which thus became for many a year not only a teacher of English but a propagator of bitterly anti-Christian opinions, in spite of its profession of pure neutrality. Nor was any sufficient correction applied to this. The Serampore missionaries had opened their magnificent college a year after, but that was fifteen miles away from the capital. Stimulated to rival them, Dr. Middleton had built his Bishop's Col-

lege, but that too was at some distance from the city.

The Government Committee of Public Instruction meanwhile pursued its triumphant way, subsidizing and eulogizing only Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Voltairism, or worse, under the idea that the cause of Oriental scholarship at least was thus advancing. There was only one man who protested, and that, strange to say, was a stouter sceptic than any of them—the *quondam* licentiate of the Scottish Kirk who had come to draft the dispatches from Leadenhall Street, James Mill. In a trenchant and almost sorrowful letter sent out by the Court to the Governor-General on February 18, 1824, he horrified the pandits, both English and Indian, by telling them that, by their own confession, their system had failed. The Hindu and Mohammedan colleges had not made a favourable impression on the people by encouraging their literature, nor had these institutions promoted useful learning. In language which his friend Macaulay almost copied ten years after, the committee were told that they were teaching "a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned." The father of John Stuart Mill, and author of a *History of India* long since out of date, was the first to attack, from the secular side, that which Duff demolished from the spiritual. This assault proved fruitless for the time—how fruitless let Bishop Heber's description of

his visit to the Sanskrit College of Benares tell.* The accomplished Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, there heard a lecture identifying the North Pole with Mount Meru, and the South Pole with the tortoise which supports the Hindu cosmogony, while the sun goes round the earth! This in some colleges, and the vulgar blasphemy of the *Age of Reason* in others, were the only means by which the Government of India carried out the order of Parliament to promote a knowledge of the sciences among the natives, all the twenty years before Dr. Duff's assaults began to tell.

Like every false religion, Hinduism has thus made some error in physical fact an article of faith; and here Christianity, which leaves science to its own unrevealed place, finds an entrance for the wedge of disintegration. Here, and then by the ethics of natural religion, and finally by the Spirit of Christ directing both, Duff began that *Præparatio Evangelica* with which, more than any other man, or anything else in his career of half a century, his name is identified. All truth is harmonious, all truth is one; and the Protestant Christianity which glories in that has no need to fear any. That was his principle. "Do not," said the church which sent him to India as its first missionary, "settle in Calcutta." "Do not," said the few missionaries already there, and the mass of his own countrymen, "attempt to teach English;

* See *Bishop Heber, Poet and Chief Missionary to the East*, page 253. (John Murray, 1895.)

you will only make the Bengalis worse infidels than before." Such was not Dr. Carey's opinion. I shall never forget the story of their first interview, as Dr. Duff told it to me in the old mission-house of Serampore, where he was my guest. The still ruddy Highlander, tall and excited, left his boat at the college ghaut, eager to see the man who, since before the French Revolution, had been working for the good of the people of India. He found a bent, withered, lame old man, who was still suffering from the effects of a fall that had forced him to use crutches, and whose yellow complexion contrasted with the white jacket of the tropical heats. But when the great scholar and venerable apostle began to speak, all signs of weakness vanished. Like every one who has worked long for the Master, Carey told Duff how joyous, how full of reward was the service. He sent the youth to Calcutta with his blessing. He lived only a few years longer—too short a time to see the harvest reaped which he and others had sowed.

On July 15, 1830, Duff opened his English school in Calcutta, in spite of all counsel to the contrary, save Carey's. His few pupils soon rose to eight hundred. He had to make his own teachers and all his text-books. In sweltering heat and steaming rain he worked on, kept in ignorance even of the one fact that would have cheered him—that the Court of Directors had again, on September 29, 1830, urged the Government to encourage a thorough knowledge

of English in its schools, since the pure tone and better spirit of Western literature cannot tell with full effect only through the original tongues. "There is no point of view," wrote the Directors, "on which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the natives, than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employments in the civil administration of India." Specifically "on their instruction in the principles of morals and jurisprudence" did the Directors express their reliance for this end. That instruction it fell to Duff to give with the only force which can supply the motive power of morals, and to Macaulay, as first law member of the Governor-General's Council. With them was associated the Governor-General himself, the philanthropic, wise, earnest, and Christian Lord William Bentinck, without whom this first lustrum of Indian progress might have been longer postponed. The still more liberal Charter of 1833 had just been passed, the Governor-General and all his colleagues had convinced themselves that Duff's college and his methods supplied the true model for an educational policy to extend to the whole empire and develop in the generations to come; but they could not secure Duff's zeal, nor dared they proclaim the Christian faith, even if it had been wise to do so.

The Committee of Public Instruction were equally divided on the subject of English *versus* Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian as the language of education.

Five still held out against dispatches, Dr. Duff's success, and common sense, when Macaulay was appointed their president. Very curious and very precious are the worm-eaten manuscript minutes and reports which I have seen in the Calcutta archives, whereby the great writer for four years fought his obstructive colleagues. In 1835 the famous essayist summed up the controversy in a minute which is as brilliant as anything he afterwards published. Sir George Trevelyan has given an extract from it, all too short, in the closing chapter of the first volume of the *Life and Letters* of his uncle. Lord William Bentinck, even if he had not personally been on the same side, had no alternative but to set the question at rest by his Resolution of March 7, 1835, which became the corner-stone of our educational policy in the East ever since — "A knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language."

Such was the effect of this adoption of Dr. Duff's principles, *minus* always the Christian end of such education, which was tacitly left to the missionaries, that we find Macaulay writing thus the year after to his venerable father: "It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence." Error dies harder than that; but it is true that not one Hindu leaves an English college believing in his ancestral faith, however much caste and other forms of custom may still

lead him timidly to practise it. And few Hindus leave the missionary colleges, established on the model of Dr. Duff's, unconvinced of the power and beauty of Christianity, or unfriendly to it. While more Hindus of influence have been added as sincere converts to the Christian Church by this than by any other means, the work of preparation has been carried out over the wide extent of the vast peninsula as no other force could have carried it. Having done this great work in its origin, and secured colleagues worthy of himself to carry it on, Dr. Duff was driven home by nearly fatal sickness, to rouse the churches by his zeal, and to shake the country by his eloquence.

The first news that met him on his return to Calcutta was that the Orientalists in the department of Public Instruction had succeeded in imposing on the weakness of the unhappy Governor-General of the day, Lord Auckland, so far as to induce him to sign the minute of November 24, 1839. That document is not unfairly described by Dr. Duff, in a series of trenchant letters in which he demolished and ultimately neutralized it, as directing the re-endowment of Orientalism, including its false religions, and the total exclusion of true religion from the course of higher instruction in the literature and science of Europe. The only practical result was to increase the public grant for education. The Cabul disasters and the iniquitous expenditure on the first Afghan war arrested rapid progress for a time. But so profoundly was Dr. Duff moved by the danger to what he had justly

pronounced "the great revolution to be ultimately wrought by Lord William Bentinck's order," that it came back on his mind with much force when he was dying. The veteran missionary, in those intervals of bright and almost vigorous consciousness which marked the last fortnight of his life, reverted again and again to Lord Auckland's vain attempt, as if it had been made yesterday. To one who, on February 1, 1878, found him very weak, and wished him to refrain from conversation, he replied that it did him good—it roused him thus to go back on the past. After explaining in detail the course in philosophy over which he took his native students, he said he would answer "the upstart rationalists" of the Indian Educational Department now as he did in 1839, if he had the energy. He then dictated a vindication of his educational policy in connection with the Calcutta University, which had been assailed with great vehemence by one of the Indian newspapers.

The Bentinck period of his career may be completed by a reference to what he did for the medical education of the Hindus. For them even to touch a dead body was to break caste, so that the study of scientific medicine became impossible. When Lord William Bentinck was petitioned by both the Hindu and Mohammedan communities to be satisfied with the study of the Sanskrit and Arabic works on the healing art, he persisted in the establishment of the Bengal Medical College, for instruction in medical science on European principles through English. Even then,

however, anatomy had to be taught from models; and how taught? Dr. Duff declared that his students, of the highest caste, were sufficiently free from prejudice to dissect the human subject. With hope, yet hesitation, the English doctors who were professors in the new institution visited the missionary's classes, and questioned the students. The very first was a Brahman, who at once declared his readiness to defy prejudice, and the triumph was gained. When I presided at the annual convocation of the Bengal Medical College, I was able to use this language:—

"Students, you have reason to be proud of the college which has this day bestowed on you such honours. It is associated with an already long roll of remarkable teachers; for, after all, thirty-eight years is not a short period in the history of an institution in India. Its existence is connected with the names of the two most illustrious Governors-General of this century, Bentinck and Dalhousie. The former called it into being as the last act of an administration memorable for the triumphs of peace. The latter, great in war as well as peace, was the first to open that hospital which is the largest single school of practical medicine in the world; and when I first landed in India the echoes of his eloquence on that occasion had not passed away. Since even his time what progress has there not been! Your able principal * now tells us of so many as 1,226 students in the college, and of more than 41,000 patients

* The late Dr. D. B. Smith.

annually treated free of charge in the hospital. The hospital has relieved the pain or cured the diseases of no fewer than 800,000 human beings since its establishment. The college has sent forth 436 sub-assistant surgeons, 56 hospital apprentices, and some 1,161 native doctors, since its foundation. One can now hardly believe that there was a time when the Hindu and Mohammedan communities of Calcutta alike petitioned Government not to substitute a college like this for the classes which had previously been devoted to the study of the Hindu and Arabic works on medicine in the Sanskrit College and the Madrissa. Just as students are now annually reckoned by thousands, and patients by tens of thousands, and as the one subject made use of by Pandit Modusoodun Guptu has grown into some nine hundred every year, so the staff of professors, which began with Drs. Bramley and Goodeve, has swollen into a band of twelve English and six native lecturers. Your college, with such a history, no less than your profession and the honours which so many of you have gained to-day and recently in this University Hall, summons you to walk worthy of your vocation, to act up to your responsibility."

Dr. Duff has done more than any other one man for the largest medical school and the most beneficent in the world.

For twenty years the Government and the missionary colleges grew side by side, not only in Calcutta, but in the great cities and native towns of India.

Both had sprung from the same seed—that first sown by Alexander Duff in 1830; but the Government so dreaded the suspicion even of Christian truth that it would not acknowledge, by grants or honours, the secular instruction, in promoting which, among the poorer classes especially, the churches and societies of Great Britain were doing its work. So far did this go, that the bold and almost autocratic Marquess of Dalhousie, though an elder of the Kirk at home, would not even subscribe to its college in Calcutta till the very day that he resigned the office of Governor-General into the hands of Lord Canning. Nay, he maintained the Bethune School for caste girls out of his own pocket privately, rather than commit the Government to the unknown and dreaded work of female education. Fortunately, Dr. Duff happened to be again in England when the time came, in 1853, to give the East India Company what proved to be its last charter. He and the late J. C. Marshman, C.S.I.—a man second only to him in self-sacrifice for the Christian education of the natives of India—gave evidence before a parliamentary committee, which resulted in Sir Charles Wood (first Lord Halifax) becoming a convert to their views. Taking that evidence and certain sympathetic dispatches from Lord Dalhousie on the success of Mr. Thomason in the establishment of circle village schools in Upper India, his private secretary, the present Earl of Northbrook, drafted the dispatch of 1854.

That is a state paper second only to Macaulay's in

1835; and Lord Northbrook was proud to claim its authorship, even as a draftsman from the evidence of Duff and Marshman, when, as himself Viceroy and Governor-General, he addressed the Convocation of the University of Calcutta. The merit of the dispatch is that, with a fearless belief in the harmony of truth and its ultimate triumph, its author brought into friendly co-operation, on the one ground of efficiency in communicating truth, the two hitherto hostile parties of the Government and the Church, and added to both native representatives of all the creeds, Mohammedan, Hindu, and Buddhist. At the head of all education, above even the Government itself in its executive capacity, were placed the three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—since increased to five by those of Lahore and Allahabad. Their senates arranged the curricula of studies, fixed the text-books, nominated the examiners, and conferred the degrees. For the first time in the East, and that too in the very year when to many it seemed as if the British Empire there was passing away, there was seen the catholic spectacle of rulers and ruled, Protestant and Romanist, Christian, Brahman, and Moulvie, sitting around the same table to draw up a scheme of university learning, Oriental as well as Western, but all on Western methods, and rewarded by Western academic titles. Dr. Duff's special duty was to lead the Christian party in the Calcutta Senate, consisting, with the writer, of the learned Archdeacon Pratt, Professor Cowell (since of Cambridge), Dr. K.

M. Banerjea, Dr. Kay, Bishop Cotton, Dr. Ogilvie, Dr. Mullens, Sir Henry Durand, Bishop Stuart, Sir C. U. Aitchison, Mr. Samuel Laing, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, during the few years that the two latter were successively finance ministers. Our object was purely catholic—to secure the best text-books, and to see that the University should be a teaching as well as a mere examining body. For years the conflict went on, quietly as became academic strife, and harmoniously in the end, although the purely Christian element was in the minority in numbers. The Minutes of the years 1859–65 are before me, and very able some of them are, coming from such pens as Cotton's, Pratt's, and Duff's. The orientalizing and anti-Christian party could always reckon on purely native support; for in such matters non-Christian natives are naturally influenced by the desire of those in power. In Bombay and Madras there was a similar struggle, but not so prolonged; for Dr. Wilson, though a missionary, became vice-chancellor in the former, and in the latter—thanks to educationists like Principal Miller, C.I.E.—the missionaries have distanced the Government in the higher education.

Of forty-eight Hindus of the upper castes and classes converted to Christ through Dr. Duff's agency there were, in the year 1871, nine ordained ministers, ten trained catechists, and seventeen professors and teachers of the higher grade. Mr. Eugene Stock, in his great *History* (1899), eloquently and at length records Duff's educational work, and thus concludes:

"His work has profoundly affected all successful Indian missions, and not least the missions of the Church Missionary Society."

Lord Ripon's Commission of 1882 officially adopted the whole principles of Alexander Duff's system of public instruction laid down more than half a century before, and lamented that the pure secularism of its own colleges had led to the absence of morality and the prevalence of disloyal discontent among the thousands of natives who had been educated there. The evil is still working, and will work, corrected only by the positive teaching of Christian truth and morals. Up to Lord Northbrook's term of office, the British administration had brought the natives to the parting of the ways. Then, at last, Duff was seen to leap to the front and point them upwards, leading as many as would follow under the banner of the only Name given under heaven whereby men may be saved, and proclaiming principles which the Government Commission of 1882 fully adopted, subject to the law of toleration.

Duff's work through the University of Calcutta was publicly eulogized by the vice-chancellor, Sir Henry Maine, when the great missionary left India in 1864. He has influenced for purity and morality, for grace and faith, for truth and high ideals, the vast constituency of the Calcutta University, which annually examined thousands of students drawn from the hundred millions of our native subjects from Ceylon to Benares and Peshawur. All classes and all

creeds united to honour him by founding the Duff scholarships, which are open to students who stand first in certain great departments of study, and are as often held by Hindus and Roman Catholics as by Protestant Christians.

But, as a Scotsman who knew what the parish school had done for himself and his countrymen, as well as the university, Dr. Duff could not neglect either female or primary schools. When his college for young men and its numerous imitators had raised up a generation of educated youths who demanded wives fit to be their companions and the mothers of their children, he knew the time had come to attempt what seemed the most hopeless work under the zanana life, and the most dangerous, unless the restraints of a divine morality were substituted for the imprisonment of the Hindu and Mohammedan home. When the purely secular Bethune School failed, he founded his caste girls' school, and proved, increasingly as each year passed on, that the most respectable young ladies of Hindu families may be attracted to a Christian school conducted with all the tender propriety shown by self-denying missionary ladies. That and the house-to-house instruction begun by Mr. Fordyce, then of his mission, have made a beginning at least in a work which is still far more neglected by the women of this country than by those of New York and the United States.

The dispatch of 1854 had almost reproached the Government of India for its failure to cast a network

of village schools over the country for the rudimentary instruction of the children in their own vernaculars. Since this had been first ordered in 1814, on the Madras principle of Dr. Bell, only the missionary and one official, Mr. Thomason, had done anything on a considerable scale. The chance of a national system was early lost when the Government failed to make a school cess a part of the land-tax which it gradually settled all over the country. On the contrary, our administrative system destroyed the indigenous schools, till Mr. Adam, an ex-missionary, made a report on the educational destitution to Lord William Bentinck which horrified him. From that time till the last year of his life, Dr. Duff spoke and wrote that the people might be taught to read and write their mother tongue. For, all other reasons apart, he knew that only thus could the vernacular Bible be read or the Christian preacher be properly understood. His own college had always had a vernacular school department, which was the model of a thousand others; and he himself had early learned Bengali, though he seldom required to use it. In 1859 Lord Stanley repeated the reproach of 1854, that Government had done so little for female and primary schools. Sir Bartle Frere then began to move in Bombay, the late Earl of Kellie in Central India, Sir W. Muir in Hindustan proper, and finally Sir George Campbell in Bengal. Now all India has something like a school-rate and machinery for inspecting and elevating the village guru or "dominie."

But the motive power is lacking, from the want of proper normal schools, save where that most useful agency, the Christian Literature Society, has supplied both them and pure text-books, free from the obscenities and idolatries of the Krishna legends.

I write of what I know—in its later methods and its fast-spreading results, at least. I have told elsewhere what Dr. Duff has done in his direct missionary work, in convincing inquirers, baptizing converts, training catechists, and sending forth for other churches as well as his own an educated native ministry. The public of Great Britain and America know what he did, especially in 1835–39, and again in 1850–54, in rousing Christendom to its duty to its Lord and to humanity, to say nothing of his varied work as a professor, and as counsellor of all mission bodies since his return in 1864. But over and above all that, and in the eyes of the Government of India superior to all that, was his life-long toil as a statesman, an orator, and a writer, for the Christian education of the people of Southern Asia. If we think of the millions affected, and of the issues involved, no one man has done so much work of that kind for the race in all its history.

Dr. Alexander Duff died on February 12, 1878, and is buried near Thomas Chalmers in the Grange Cemetery, Edinburgh. A noble Iona cross of granite was erected to his memory in 1889, by public subscription, near Pitlochry railway station, in his native parish of Moulin, at his old friend Principal Sir

William Muir's suggestion. The epitaph, by his life-long friend Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R.E., is felicitous :—

DEDICATED BY FRIENDS TO THE MEMORY OF

ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D., LL.D.

AN ILLUSTRIOUS AND DEVOTED MISSIONARY OF JESUS CHRIST

THE FIRST TO KINDLE THE LIGHT OF HIGHER CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN INDIA; HE FOR HALF A CENTURY CONSECRATED TO ITS ADVANCEMENT ALL THE RESOURCES OF A SINGULARLY ARDENT NATURE AND COMMANDING GENIUS

DURING HIS WHOLE CAREER HE WAS REGARDED BY THE BEST CLASS OF INDIA'S YOUTH AS A TRUSTED GUIDE AND FRIEND, AND BY THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AS AN ABLE AND VENERATED LEADER

He was Born at Moulin, near this Spot, 25th April 1806

ORDAINED AS A MINISTER OF CHRIST, 12TH AUGUST 1829

FOUNDED AT CALCUTTA, 13TH JULY 1830,
THE MISSIONARY COLLEGE WHICH NOW BEARS HIS NAME

Died at Sidmouth, 12th February 1878

"Fervent in spirit; serving the Lord."—Rom. xii. 11.

ERECTED MDCCCLXXXIX

Seventy years after Alexander Duff left Scotland for India, the Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Dr. Welldon, thus declared the true foreign policy of the Church and the Empire, as he left England for his diocese :—

"I feel with an intense conviction the opportunity and the responsibility of the British Empire. I am not only a Christian, but I am a patriot. I believe in my heart that, next to the Church of Christ, the

THE ALEXANDER DUFF MEMORIAL, PITLOCHRY, UNVEILED.

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British Empire is the most inspiring fact upon earth. But the British Empire, in my judgment, will not have risen to the true conception of its magnificent opportunity, unless the citizens of that empire feel that they are called by God to spread throughout the world, and especially among all subjects of the Queen, not only the arms, not only the arts, not only the civilization, but also the religion of this country. I look upon the history of great empires: I see that all have risen, have prospered, have decayed; and I cannot doubt that the British Empire will decay in time also, unless it is sanctified and preserved by the divine spirit of Christianity. It is therefore my judgment that he who sets forth the religion of Christ among the colonies and dependencies of the Empire is doing service, not only to the Church, but still more to the Empire itself. For an empire to be permanent must rest upon character. It cannot rest solely upon force; it must rest upon character. And I know no safeguard for character, no stronghold that can preserve men against the temptations and seductions of life, except the faith of Jesus Christ our Lord."

VIII.

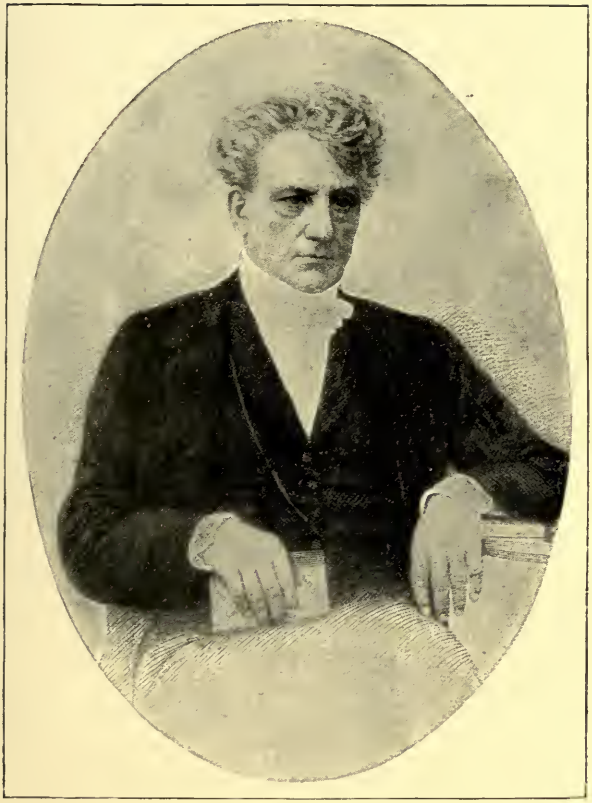
ALPHONSE FRANÇOIS LACROIX.

(1799–1859.)

PREACHING APOSTLE TO THE BENGALIS.

IN the scramble for the trade of the East Indies during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, five of the Christian Powers obtained land and built factories on the right bank of the Hoogli River, above and opposite the more modern Calcutta. The Portuguese held Satgaon; the Dutch possessed Chinsurah; the British gained Hoogli, between these two; the French purchased Chandernagore, lower down; and the Danes were in possession of Serampore.

The Dutch factors or merchants built pretty villas, with gardens, along the river bank, but in the most unhealthy style; one of their governors erected a clock-tower, to which, after a long time, another added a church, still decorated with the escutcheons of the Hollanders. Fort Gustavus, of which even the ruins no longer remain, guarded the settlement from Bengali foe and European rival alike, till Clive's



ALPHONSE FRANÇOIS LACROIX.

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famous letter sent Forde to beat the Dutch Marines from Batavia. After many changes in the Napoleonic wars, Chinsurah became finally British in the year 1825. While the sleepy town was still Dutch, the Netherlands Missionary Society sent the French Swiss, Alphonse François Lacroix, to evangelize its inhabitants and the surrounding Bengalis. During a career of thirty-eight years, chiefly as an agent of the London Missionary Society, to which he was transferred, Lacroix proved himself to be, next after William Carey, the apostle to the people of Lower Bengal, as a preacher in their mother tongue. As their leader and model, he was to vernacular missionaries what his friend Alexander Duff became to educational missions; and both were alike evangelistic in their aims, and in the results of their long labours. Lacroix's eldest daughter, Hannah Mullens, married to the Bengali missionary and secretary who afterwards found a grave in what is now German East Africa, became the zanana missionary and the chief writer for the women of India in her day.

In 1799, in the village of Lignières, on the slope of the Jura Chasseral in French Switzerland, Alphonse François Lacroix was born. Trained in his uncle's school in the suburbs of Neuchatel, then in Zurich for two years under a German pastor, then near Amsterdam where he was prepared for the Netherlands Missionary Society, the youth grew to be a linguist—ultimately a five-language man. To French, German, and Dutch he added English and Bengali.

Thus was he fitted to become the greatest preacher Bengal had seen. But the boy's determination was to be a soldier. Was he not born beside the battle-field of Grauson? Did he not know every event in the patriot history of the Swiss Cantons, often standing with enthusiasm on the field of Sempach, where Arnold of Winkleried was pierced to death by the Austrian spears? Was he not himself a countryman of the French-speaking Swiss who followed Napoleon? To the last he delighted to tell his children the tale of the Comte d'Auvergne, the memory of whose valour was such that, after death, the commander's name was kept at the head of the regimental roll, and every evening, when it was called, a comrade would answer, *Mort sur le champ de battaile.* "Ah!" Lacroix used to exclaim, "the soldiers of that day were *men.*"

So, when a boy of fifteen, Lacroix left home with his all in a knapsack for Berne, thirty miles off, there to offer himself as a recruit. As he fled, his uncle prayed; and when the lad was already in sight of the minster towers of Berne, rising high above the Aar, he seemed to feel a sudden hand on his shoulder, and a loud voice in his heart saying, "What doest thou here? Return."

Jung Stilling's little book, *Scenes in the Kingdom of Spirits,* led him to decide for Christ at once; and when tutor in an Amsterdam family, he offered himself to the Netherlands Society. After nominal training in the swamps of the Berkel mission seminary, he was appointed to Chinsurah at the request of its

surgeon, then on furlough, Dr. Vos. There he landed on March 21, 1821. Almost the first sight he witnessed was a suttee on the river bank opposite. The horror of the sight of the living widow fastened down on the pyre beside the corpse, and consumed amid the hellish din which drowned her cries, never left his memory. The refusal of some boatmen to save, even to notice, a countryman drowning in the rapid current, further opened the eyes of the young missionary to the curse of Hinduism, which he was soon to expose with loving remonstrance, as he pled with its votaries to take on them the easy yoke of Jesus Christ. While mastering Bengali, the key to their hearts, he became a living epistle of Christ to the Dutch residents, among whom his commanding yet genial personality, and his ministrations in the language of their youth, made him a great favourite. After a time he was married to the daughter of Mr. Gregory Herklots, a civilian whose family had long been remarkable for their Christian virtues. The lady had been taught at Serampore, by Mrs. Hannah Marshman, to live for others.

In 1825, when Chinsurah was made British, Lieutenant Havelock became a friend, when he was adjutant of the new depôt, and married Hannah Marshman's daughter. The colonel of the Cameron Highlanders, who garrisoned the place, was a good Presbyterian like Lacroix himself, and the church was crowded. But as the station was no longer Dutch, the Netherlands Society offered him the alternative

of moving to Batavia, or giving his services to a society in Bengal. He could not hesitate, and in 1827 he was gladly appointed by the London Missionary Society to the charge of their rural evangelizing in the swamps to the south of Calcutta, where the first converts were being formed into congregations.

Lacroix's apprenticeship was over. When he landed in Bengal five years before, William Carey's Serampore Mission reckoned its converts since the beginning of the century at six hundred, with a community of two thousand. Now they number above two hundred thousand. Like Carey's, the time of Lacroix also was that of preparation. The men, who lived and laboured before the Mutiny of 1857–58 introduced the history of British India as an empire, were sowers of the good seed, each in his own way, vernacular or English, preaching to the illiterate or teaching the caste-proud Brahmans. Since that event, with its massacres and campaigns, roused the conscience of the English-speaking world of the United Kingdom and the United States, many others have entered into the labours of the prae-Mutiny pioneers; and we are gladdened by the fruits of early harvest, while we follow the newer methods also of medical and women's missions.

From the year 1821 till his death in 1859, we see Lacroix, with his splendid physique, adding to the earnestness of the French Huguenot the Scots-like fervour of the Swiss mountaineer, at work in the villages of densely-peopled Hoogli and the Soondar-

ban swamps outside Calcutta. Day by day, in all seasons, save the opening month of the tropical rains, when locomotion is impossible, he carries to the stolid, superstitious peasantry and labourers of Bengal the good news of God. At first he was in charge of the native churches of Ramakalchok and Gungri, which had lost their first love in seven years after the deep spiritual impulse that had brought them out of heathenism. It was a case like that of the Corinthians, to whom St. Paul wrote his Epistles. Then, in the cold season, Lacroix organized itinerancies all over the lower delta of mud through which the Hoogli and the Ganges find their way to the Bay of Bengal. His motto was that of the evangelical prophet (Isa. lxii. 10): "Prepare ye the way of the people; lift up a standard for the people." His six journals told the churches in England and in Geneva of preaching tours to points so far distant from his home beside Kalighat shrine, from which Calcutta takes its name, as Saugor Island, a hundred miles away to the south; Murshidabad, a hundred miles to the north; Burdwan, sixty miles to the west; and the banks of the great Burampootra, in the far east. There was nothing haphazard or promiscuous in his apostolic journeyings. On his perfect methods not an hour was lost, not a sermon—in the original and true sense of a friendly talk—thrown away. Like the Lord Himself in the villages and on the waters of Galilee, he drew to his message men of every pursuit, so that the common people heard him gladly. His

Bengali idiom and accent, his parables and allegories, his humour and pathos, his commanding presence and irresistible tone of voice, were all used by the Holy Spirit to prepare the way.

For with him and the reports he modestly sent to his society, or more eloquently spoke to rouse the local churches, it was always preparation. When I landed in Calcutta, but five years of his career had to run. Often has he confessed to me, as to others, that he did not know of spiritual fruit. "But," writes his son-in-law and biographer,* "he kept steadily on. Few converts joined him from the heathen in the city; his churches, after several years of growth, decayed and fell away. Still he persevered; his steadiness bore both trials, and he preached on, believing that he was sowing good seed—preparing the way of the Lord, and rendering easy the path of other missionaries who would enter into his labours after his work was done. He never regretted that he had so served his Master; in this faith he lived, in this faith he died." So the two thousand of Carey's converts when he began are two hundred thousand now, and they go on growing alike in numbers and in character. While he adapted his own methods to the swarming villagers and street population of Lower Bengal, Lacroix was too wise and too fair not to recognize that another form of setting forth Christ and His Kingdom was needed for the Brahmanical

* *Brief Memorials of the Rev. Alphonse François Lacroix.* By Joseph Mullens, D.D. (London: Nisbet, 1862.)

classes. So the site of his old dwelling-house saw, in 1851, the foundation laid of the Bhowanipore Missionary Institution, to supplement his action, and complete the manifestation of Christ to the Bengalis. His specialization as an itinerant preacher made him all the more hearty in recognizing the value of English Christian colleges as the means of evangelizing in the great cities and educated centres of India. The truth of his statement demands recognition by the Missionary directors of both Great Britain and America, as it has long been a commonplace in India itself.

"When the first missionaries arrived in Bengal, they devoted nearly the whole of their time and energies to the proclamation of the glad tidings of salvation to adults, through the medium of the vernacular language. A more excellent and scriptural mode of proceeding could not have been adopted.

"With all this, experience showed that it was not as comprehensive as could be desired, owing to certain local circumstances and peculiarities in the native feeling and habits, which rendered its use to a certain degree of limited application. The fact is, that comparatively few of the more respectable and influential classes attended the preaching of the gospel in bazaars and other places of public resort, because they objected to mixing in a promiscuous assembly with persons of the lowest ranks and castes. Hence the missionaries had often to lament the absence, on these occasions, of the very individuals whom, from their position in society, it was of high importance they should

influence. Again, it was found that preaching to fluctuating assemblies, though the best, and, in fact, the only means of reaching the generality of the population, did not always allow to the missionary sufficient time and opportunity to declare the whole counsel of God to his hearers, or to instruct them thoroughly in the doctrines of Christianity.

"The missionaries deplored these adverse circumstances, and asked God for His guidance and interference; nor were these withheld. Almost suddenly a door of usefulness was opened which promised to be the most effective auxiliary to preaching, inasmuch as it, in a great measure, supplied the advantages which the former did not afford to the extent wished for. An almost universal desire to become acquainted with the English language and Western literature had existed among the young men belonging to the most respectable families in the land. Of this desire, the missionaries, among whom Dr. Duff was foremost, availed themselves to establish schools, where not merely a secular education of a superior kind should be given, but where, in a special manner, the saving truths of Christianity should be taught and inculcated.

"This effort succeeded beyond all expectation. Hundreds and thousands of young men, many of them appertaining to the influential classes, flocked to these schools, and continued in them long enough to go through a regular course of Christian education, including a close study of the Bible, its doctrines, precepts, and the evidences on which it is received as

the word of God. Numbers of the pupils acquired such a proficiency in this knowledge as to equal, if not in some instances to surpass, the attainments of many young men brought up carefully even in Christian Europe. Thousands of these have already gone forth into the busy scenes of life, carrying with them such an acquaintance with the way of salvation, and such improved principles, as furnish the best hope, that when once their understandings are more matured by age, and the restraints under which they at present labour are removed, and when the Holy Spirit shall be poured out upon the land, they will act up to their convictions, and embrace the truth as it is in Jesus, and cause a moral revolution to take place which must shake Hinduism to its foundations, and bring about a change so astounding and so general, that it will prove the fulfilment of that prophecy, that a nation shall be born in a day."

Lacroix's commanding experience throws light also on the controversy, or difference of method, among vernacular-preaching missionaries themselves. Is the individual or the mass system the most scriptural and practically the better? Since his time, famine and pestilence, the judgments of God, have again and again sent thousands into the Christian church, and oppressed and casteless communities have offered themselves for baptism in whole families and even villages. The answer must doubtless depend on the antecedents of the catechumens. Lacroix worked for nearly forty years among the caste-bound Hindus of

Bengal. Even in his time the famine at Krishnaghur had resulted in many "rice Christians," as they were called. I can testify to the sincerity of many even of these; but the history of that movement under the Church Missionary Society, which at the first called forth Bishop Wilson's enthusiasm, is a warning against the mass system of converts. On the other hand, where the strong nucleus of a Christian community exists, and the foreign and native missionaries are prepared to follow up baptism by careful instruction and watchful nurture, the mass or national system should do as much for the aborigines and pariahs of India as it did for the northern nations of Europe, through Ethelbert, Clovis, and Vladimir. But the inevitable apostasies that soon follow mass movements should always be confessed, and the Erastian danger which has attended the Russo-Greek Church should be guarded against.

Like Judson and the earlier pioneers, Alphonse Lacroix returned to Europe only once in his thirty-eight years' service. To all remonstrances and warnings he turned a deaf ear, believing that a change to North India was all he needed. Had he not ever identified himself with the people to whom he had been divinely sent, and whose hearts he had always reached through their mother-tongue, in which he told them the love of Christ? The end came to him in Calcutta, when he was only sixty. Days of agony from the liver, under which he once cried out: "O Lord! counterbalance by Thy presence this pain," were

followed by the vision of Christ in answer to his prayer: "O Jesus! undertake for me. What should I do were it not for this calm confidence that I am the Lord's, and that He is mine?" Macleod Wylie, the judge, was much with the dying saint. As the five weeks of agony drew to a close, he often spoke the French of his youth. His last words were, "Jesus is near."

It was on the gloomiest day of the tropical rains, on July 3, 1859, and in the dreariest even of India's cemeteries, that we buried the apostle to the Bengalis, Alexander Duff praying in English, and Wenger in Bengali, at the grave's mouth. The Sunday after, Duff preached in Union Chapel the greatest of his sermons, from David's words on Abner: *Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?* The apostolic succession was immediately entered on by his daughter, Hannah Mullens,* in her mission to the women of Bengal.

* See page 78.

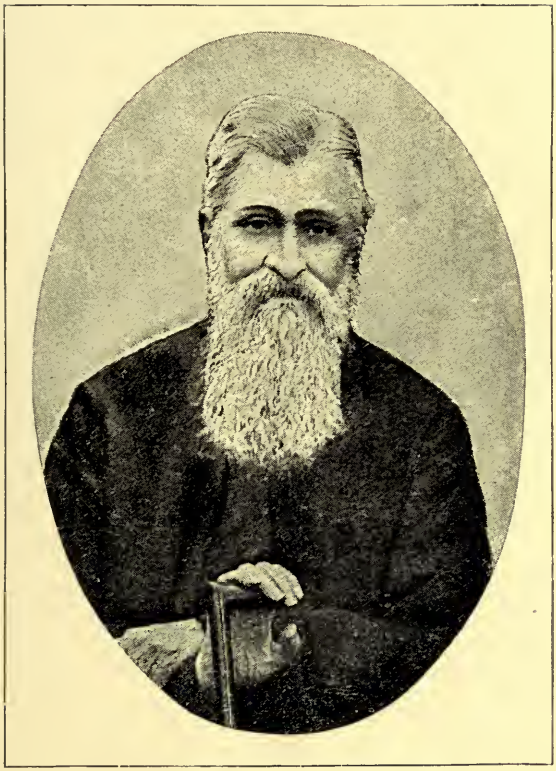
IX.

ROBERT CALDWELL, D.D., LL.D.

(1814–1891).

FIRST COADJUTOR-BISHOP OF MADRAS IN TINNEVELLY.

THROUGH the greater part of the nineteenth century three Scotsmen stand out as the most remarkable benefactors of the peoples of India, north-east, west, and south. These are the missionaries, Alexander Duff of Calcutta, John Wilson of Bombay, and Robert Caldwell of Tinnevelly. The first came out of the University of St. Andrews, when Thomas Chalmers was the inspiration of its students; the second passed through the University of Edinburgh, just before Chalmers was appointed to the Chair of Divinity. Caldwell, like Claudius Buchanan before him, was ever grateful to the University of Glasgow, and especially to Sir Daniel Sandford, whose Greek class led him to become the chief comparative philologist of the Dravidian languages. Wilson and Caldwell were the greatest scholars of their time in India. While Duff and Wilson founded the educational missions of the old historic Church of Scotland, and then



ROBERT CALDWELL.

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of the same Church Free, Caldwell became a missionary of the Church of England's old Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the organizer of the parochial system of village evangelization. The two Presbyterians and the English Churchman were one in their appreciation of each other's methods and in their unresting work, each for a period of more than half a century, for the highest good of the natives whom they loved. The bishop still lacks a biographer.

Three years after his death his son-in-law printed, at Madras, some fragmentary *Reminiscences* of an autobiographic kind. These and his works enable us to understand the greatness of the pioneer of South India, in his character, and in his influence as the most successful Christian evangelist and scholar of his day. For twenty-two years I watched and sometimes chronicled or criticised his self-denying toil in the hot sands and under the shadeless palmyra-palms of Tinnevelly. From time to time visitors to his parishes beside Cape Comorin, like Duff, Mullens, and Bishop Cotton, brought news of the wonderful results. But my intercourse was confined to rare letters, literary correspondence chiefly. We were too far separated, by the whole length of the eastern coast of India, to have met.

Robert Caldwell was born, on May 7, 1814, of Scottish parents, near the little town of Antrim, some fourteen miles from Belfast, and he returned to Scotland with them in his tenth year. For six years he was brought up in Glasgow, where he learned the

Shorter (Westminster) Catechism by heart, and so unconsciously developed the theological and metaphysical power which marked him afterwards as the apostle of the Shánárs. His elder brother then took him to Dublin, to train him as an artist. There he escaped from the Moderatism of Glasgow, as it then was, into the warmth of Dr. Urwick's preaching and the society of some pious members of the Church of Ireland. Visited with serious thoughts, which he resisted for a time, at last, one day, the voice within said, "If you are ever to give yourself to God, why not now?" He rose up and went out into the open air virtually a new being, with a new governing idea, a new object in life, and what seemed to be new heavens and a new earth to live in. That day, too, he resolved to go to India as a missionary.

Returning to Glasgow in 1833, he was led by the fact that Dr. Urwick was an Independent to join the church of Greville Ewing, who when a youth in 1796 had founded the Edinburgh Missionary Society. He and Wardlaw taught him systematic divinity, Hebrew he acquired in the Andersonian University, and Chalmers influenced him by the noblest preaching he ever heard in all his long life. The same circumstances led him to offer himself to the London Missionary Society. As its accepted candidate he distinguished himself in the Latin and Greek, the Logic and Moral Philosophy classes of the University. He came out bracketed first in the list of graduates, and received half of Sir Robert Peel's prize accord-

ingly. But all the time he was reading the great Anglican and Puritan divines. Hooker and Waterland especially drew him slowly towards the episcopal system. To adopt that seemed to him too like an act of schism, unless a prolonged study of the Ante-Nicene Fathers and early church histories should prove it to be so much better as to justify a change. Accepting the ordination conferred by Congregational ministers as only the edifying ceremony they themselves considered it to be, Robert Caldwell landed at Madras on January 8, 1838, an agent of the London Missionary Society. No missionary more accomplished by character and varied training than this young man of twenty-four had begun his career in South India since the advent of Schwartz, whose work he was to revive and extend.

Caldwell was fortunate, too, in the first friend that he made, his brother Scotsman, John Anderson. Writing long after, from the experiences of an Anglican bishop, Caldwell waxes warm in his eulogy of the man whom Duff had called to found the mission in Madras. "John Anderson was my greatest friend in Madras at that time. He was one of the ablest and most zealous and devoted missionaries I have ever met, and was certainly the most enthusiastic. He was one of the mightiest talkers. One of his chief characteristics was his almost womanly tenderness and affection towards his students, which was one of the things that conduced to the great number of conversions of educated young men with which his work

was marked. Throughout the Presidency of Madras, for many years, the name of John Anderson, and the fame and influence of what was called 'Anderson's School'—now developed into the Christian College—were like household words." In Madras, too, the young missionary met the remarkable American medical missionary, Dr. John Scudder, who is now represented in the mission-field by four generations, also Dr. Winslow, of the great Tamil Dictionary. Others were Rhenius and Cotterill, afterwards Bishop of Grahamstown and then in Edinburgh, Dr. G. U. Pope, and John Tucker. The learned and eccentric Orientalist, C. P. Brown, had been his fellow-passenger; he soon became a friend of General C. A. Browne, the military secretary to Government, who was the centre of the Evangelicals.

For three and a half years Caldwell worked in the city of Madras, learning Tamil, evangelizing the natives, and giving the little leisure that was left to completing his studies of the literature of Episcopacy and the sacraments. In 1841 he resolved to join the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. "It had sunk apparently to almost the last stage of inanition; but as I considered the Church of England the best extant representative of the many-sided churches of Christian antiquity, so the society seemed to me, in its constitution and principles, the best representative of the many-sided Church of England." So intense were his convictions that he was no more arrested by the reputation of the bishop of that day than by the

state of the society. Dr. Spencer's manners he describes as "too Parisian to please plain English people. He had been a man of fashion rather than a theologian almost up to the time of his appointment to be a bishop. He was a scion of the family of the Duke of Marlborough, and owed his appointment to his wife's brother, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control. His was the last family appointment of this kind made in connection with India or the Colonies." Leaving Madras city in the heat of July for the Nilgiri hills, where the bishop, always in delicate health, resided, he walked on foot, morning and evening, putting up in native rest-houses, till the deep sand of the roads compelled him to use a cart from Pondicherry. Thus he examined Tranquebar and the idol temples and palaces of Tanjore, and met the second Kohlhoff, the successor of Schwartz, and the last missionary of the Christian Knowledge Society. From Mettapolayam, at the foot of the hills, he walked up to Kotagiri, and a month after, in the church of St. Stephen at Ootakamand, he was admitted by the bishop to the order of deacon. He thus records and explains the event, with all simple sincerity: "I had already for several years been engaged in the work of a missionary in connection with another communion, but this was my solemn admission to the third order of the sacred ministry in a historical branch of the Catholic Church by a prelate deriving his authority unquestionably from the earliest ages of Church, probably from the Apostles them-

selves." Dr. Spencer was devotedly attached to the cause of missions, and, on the first vacancy, made Caldwell his missionary chaplain, an office which ceased with that bishopric. Thus he saw other missions besides his own when on tour. His apprenticeship to the great work of his life was finished by another walk in the rainy season from the Nilgiris through the three districts of Coimbatore, Madura, and Tinnevelly.

Rarely has the Church of England gained a recruit so devoted yet ever loyal to the Reformed doctrines, so zealous yet with a breadth of view and a largeness of heart which were of no sect or party. From 1841 to 1891, for the next half century, out of love to the devil-worshippers and palmyra-climbers of Tinnevelly, he did a work which, in his humility and splendid efficiency, and in their transformation into prosperous Christian communities, is unsurpassed in the history of the Church of Christ in any age.

The extreme south of the peninsula of India, named Comorin after the "virgin" goddess Doorga, is divided by the Southern Ghats into the native State of Travankor on the west and the British district of Tinnevelly on the east. These hills, catching the monsoon rains so as to make the former green with beautiful fertility, have converted Tinnevelly into a great expanse of sand threaded by the "copper-coloured" Tambraparni and its little affluents. Two centres made this land famous in the days of old. The ancient port of Kolkai, at the spot where the river falls to the

plain in a beautiful cascade, was the capital of Pandya, who sent an embassy to Augustus. Caldwell has proved that it was from this emporium, which Ptolemy called Kolkoi, that the fleets of Hiram and Solomon brought ivory, apes, and peacocks (2 Chron. ix. 21; 1 Kings x. 22) to the head of the Red Sea. In time Kolkai gave place to Kayal, which Marco Polo describes as Cail, the port where all the ships touch trading between the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the farthest East. Tuticorin is the third port now, in succession to these, and the terminus of the Indian railway system opposite Ceylon. Here Francis Xavier made the first nominal converts to Christ of the Paravar fishermen, and in the Madura district to the north the Jesuits extended his work till it collapsed under the imposture of the Malabar Rites. This is the region in which Christians are now numbered by the hundred thousand, under the care of the Gospel Propagation, the Church Missionary, and the London Missionary Societies.

It was in the year 1780 that Schwartz baptized his first convert at Palamkotta, the administrative capital of Tinnevelly. Four years after, he admitted to Lutheran orders the catechist Satyanáden, who thus became the first ordained native minister of the Reformed Church. That native apostle, first of a succession of devoted evangelists of the same name, women and men, won over some of the Shánár caste, who formed themselves into a distinct community, and founded, in the heart of the palmyra forest,

Mudal-úr, or "First-town." That continued to be the centre and refuge of the Christians during the following thirty years of neglect by the Christian Knowledge Society. In 1815 James Hough * was sent as chaplain to Palamkotta, and five years after the able and zealous Rhenius became the Church Missionary Society's agent there. In 1835 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent two Germans to take over the Christian Knowledge Society's missions. More than three thousand persons were found to have remained steadfast to the faith in spite of a generation of neglect. The two Anglican societies were working side by side when Caldwell entered on his self-chosen task in 1841. He soon brought about a division of the field of labour in a fair and friendly spirit. He formed district or missionary parishes, two-fifths of which belonged to his own society. He extended the rule, first introduced by Rhenius, that the people of every Christian village should assemble in church, morning and evening, for united prayer.

Now a master of the Tamil language, and made familiar in his long travels on foot with the villagers and townsfolk of South India, Caldwell began his new ministry by preaching on Advent Sunday 1841 from the Epistle for the day, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand," truly descriptive of the state of the Tinnevelly missions then, and of his own hope of the present sun-rising. From Mudal-úr he walked for ten miles over the deepest sand, without a track, he

* See *The Conversion of India* (Murray, 1893), chapter iv.

had yet met with, and at night entered his hut of sun-baked bricks and palmyra leaves, in the village of Idaiyangudi, "the shepherds' abode." He was three miles from the sea and thirty from Cape Comorin, "the missionary farthest to the south." Though founded by shepherds, the village was inhabited by three hundred Shánár Christians and two hundred heathen, some of whom had lapsed from the faith.

To the Shánárs, and indeed to the one and three-quarter millions who form the population of Tinnevelly district, the palmyra-palm is the staff of life. The tree flourishes in an apparent desert, and feeds millions with its saccharine sap. Its young root and its ripe and unripe fruit are edible. Its fan-shaped Borassus leaves are used to thatch the houses, to make mats and baskets, and even to form buckets for drawing water. Its young leaf supplies the ordinary stationery of the Hindu everywhere, without preparation, and lasts for hundreds of years. Caldwell's picture of the life of his people is a good specimen of his style.

"The amount of nourishment which is supplied by the palmyra, without even the trouble of cooking, might be supposed to operate as a premium upon indolence; but, in reality, we find no premium upon indolence in Tinnevelly, or anywhere else in God's world—a hard-working world, in which it has been made necessary for every class of people to eat their bread by the sweat of their brow. The Shánárs are as industrious a people as any in India; and if this were

not their character, the provision made for their wants would be unavailable, for though their breakfast is ready cooked for them, it is at the top of the palmyra, and the palmyra is a tall, slim tree, without a single branch; hence it is necessary for every man to climb for his breakfast before he gets it, and the labour of climbing the palmyra in so hot a climate is one of the hardest and most exhausting species of labour anywhere to be seen.

"The sap of the tree cannot be obtained as from the maple, by tapping the trunk; it flows only from the spadix, or flower-stalk, at the top of the tree. From amongst the fan-shaped leaves, which form the plumed head of the palmyra, there shoot forth in the season several bunches of flower-stalks; each flower-stalk branches out into several, and each of those flowering branches, when bruised or sliced, yields drop by drop about a pint a day of sweet juice. A little earthen vessel is attached to each spadix, or flower-branch, to receive the sap as it drops; and it is the business of such of the Shánárs as are palmyra-climbers to climb the tree morning and evening, for the purpose of trimming the 'pálli,' or spadix, and emptying into a sort of pail, made of palmyra leaf, which they carry up with them, all the sap that they find collected since their last ascent. The pail is then conveyed to a little boiling-house in the neighbourhood, where the women boil the juice into 'jaggery.' In the northern part of the Carnatic, the palmyra-climbers make use of a sort of movable girdle to help them

in climbing the tree; but in Tinnevelly and Travancore, in which palmyra-climbing is much more common, the Shánárs make no use of any such artificial assistance. They clasp the tree with joined hands, and support their weight, not with the knees (which project from the tree, and of which they make no use), but with the soles of the feet, which they bend inwards like the hands, and keep together by the help of the little band, so as to enable them to clasp the tree almost as the hands do; and then they ascend, not by the alternate action of each hand, but by a series of springs, in which both hands move together and both feet follow together, not unlike the action used in swimming. A Shánár will climb a palmyra in this manner almost as rapidly as a man will walk the same length, and most of them are accustomed thus to climb fifty trees twice a day, or even three times a day, for eight months in the year.

"Taking sixty feet as the average height of a palmyra, and the climbing of fifty palmyras twice a day as the average work of an able-bodied Shánár, we shall form a clear idea of the amount of his work, if we suppose him, every day for the greater part of every year, to climb a perpendicular pole 3,000 feet, and then to descend the pole the same day—ascending and descending without any apparatus, and supporting the entire weight of his body by his strength of limb alone. Surely no harder work than this has ever been done in a tropical climate. Though the palmyra may be said to resemble a mast or pole, it must

not be supposed to be as smooth. The bark is rough from the scars of former leaves, and this renders the climbing of the tree less difficult and also less dangerous than it would otherwise have been. Accidents rarely occur, except in high winds, or when the tree is slippery through recent rain, and not often even then. I knew of a man who was sitting upon a leaf-stalk at the top of a palmyra in a high wind, when the stalk gave way, and he came down eighty feet to the ground, safely and quietly, sitting on the leaf, which served the purpose of a natural parachute.....

"Most of the Christian converts in Tinnevelly being Shánárs, and either owners or climbers of the palmyra, at the commencement of the climbing season I was accustomed to assemble our people in church for a special service—including prayers that the tree might yield its fruit, and that the climber's 'foot might not slide;' and on such occasions I have sometimes reminded the people of an appropriate expression in our Tamil version of the Psalms—*Nitimán panei-pól scrippán*, 'The righteous shall flourish like the palmyra' (the Tamil rendering of Ps. xcii. 12, 'The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree'—the palmyra being adopted as the representative of palms in general); and I have then reminded my Shánár hearers that 'the righteous,' for this reason amongst others, may be said to 'flourish like the palmyra,' because he, too, strikes his roots deep beneath the surface—the root of faith shoots deep down into the

love of God, and 'the supply of the spirit of Jesus Christ.'"

Beginning with this uninviting village on the slope of a range of red sand-hills, among these palmyra-climbers and plantain cultivators, Robert Caldwell laid the foundations of the parochial system with which his Presbyterian training had made him familiar, and applied it to all the missions in the province. By 1857, when on furlough in England, he was able to report that the province had been divided into twenty districts or missionary parishes, each with its parochial organization, and each under pastoral care. Christian congregations had been formed in 684 villages; 43,000 souls had been induced to abandon their idols, or their devils; there were 5,000 communicants, or 18 for every hundred baptized persons; and more than 10,000 children, chiefly of Christian parents, were at school. Eleven Hindus, ten of them natives of Tinnevelly, had been admitted by ordination to the ministry of the Church of England. By the parochial system alone the personal influence of the missionary can systematically co-operate with the power of the truth. On this and all other questions of missionary life, methods, and results, the *Reminiscences* is an invaluable manual, especially if supplemented by his twenty books, his four English published sermons, and his eight Tamil publications.

Three years after beginning his Idaiyangudi village ministry, Caldwell was married to Eliza, eldest daugh-

ter of Rev. Charles Mault, his neighbour of the London Missionary Society in South Travankor. Dr. Duff, who visited them, testifies, in his confidential journal, to the powerful influence of Mrs. Caldwell on her husband, but not more emphatically than the husband himself. It is true of the Mault-Caldwells, as of the Bakers of the Church Mission and the Scudders of the American (Dutch) Mission, that their missionary genealogy extends over five generations and nearly a century and a half. Caldwell is careful to note that Mr. Mault was born in Bishop Heber's parish in Shropshire, and that his wife was descended from one of the daughters of Oliver Cromwell. It was Mrs. Mault who established the first female boarding-school in Southern India, and introduced the lace-making which she had learned as a girl at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire; Mrs. Caldwell, her daughter, founded the female Normal School, transferred to Tuticorin; and their daughter, Mrs. J. L. Wyatt, carries on similarly good work at Trichinopoly.

Along with his friend and almost (junior) colleague of the Church Missionary Society, Rev. Edward Sargent, the missionary of Idaiyangudi was consecrated bishop in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, in 1877. From that time he ordained fifty-four deacons and priests. He then set himself to develop systematically the formation of native evangelistic associations, to bring into the Christian fold those who were still outside. The great famine of 1877–78 co-operated with that movement, and the census of

1881 showed that thirty-three thousand souls had been added to the church, in Tinnevelly district, in ten years. Such was his wisdom in dealing with the accessions—for he would not call them "conversions" —that the number of relapses was small. His paper on "The Motives of the Catechumens," as it appeared in the two volumes of the report of "The Missionary Conference: South India and Ceylon," held at Bangalore in June 1879, should be pondered by all evangelists and their critics. In 1875 the Prince of Wales was welcomed by ten thousand native Christians of Tinnevelly, headed by Drs. Caldwell and Sargent, and returned a reply to their address which, like the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, has a significant meaning for the second century of modern missions. His Royal Highness said:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for your address and your good wishes, and accept with pleasure your memento of my visit. It is a great satisfaction to me to find my countrymen engaged in offering to our Indian fellow-subjects those truths which form the foundation of our own social and political system, and which we ourselves esteem as our most valued possession. The freedom in all matters of opinion, which our Government secures to all, is an assurance to me that large numbers of our Indian fellow-subjects accept your teaching from conviction. Whilst this perfect liberty to teach and to learn is an essential characteristic of our rule, I feel every confidence that the

moral benefits of union with England may be not less evident to the people of India than are the material results of the great railway which we are this day opening. My hope is that in all, whether moral or material aspects, the natives of this country may ever have reason to regard their closer connection with England as one of their greatest blessings."

When the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress came round, Bishop Caldwell was called on for a retrospect of progress, which he thus summed up: "Thus everything connected with the mission has increased tenfold during the fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign, and also during the fifty years of my residence in India." His first absence from England was for seventeen years; his second, for fifteen years; his third, for eight years. On his last return from England in 1884, he found an occasional and then a final retreat at Kodaikanal, on the Pulney Hills, in the neighbouring Madura district, above fever range, which has become a sanatorium more valued than Ootakamand, and is the great Observatory of India. There he built St. Peter's Church on Mount Nebo. There, in 1891, he resigned his episcopal office to the good Bishop Gell, after fifty-three years of service—without a parallel—as missionary, scholar, and bishop.

There, in the same year, he died at the ripe age of seventy-seven. Thence his body was taken, by his own wish, to rest under the communion table of the church which he had built at Idaiyangudi among the

people whom he loved. It was the march of a king and priest unto God, through crowds of Christian and even Mohammedan people, that filled the air now with wailing and now with praise. From six thousand to a hundred thousand this apostle had increased the church in Tinnevelly, while he had organized it to go on conquering and to conquer, and had made himself, in spite of his humility, the first and greatest of Dravidian scholars. Mr. Gladstone, recognizing Robert Caldwell's services to the people and the Christian Government of India, recommended the Crown to make a grant of £150 from the Royal Bounty to his widow. In St. George's Cathedral, in Madras city, a tablet commemorates the character and career of Robert Caldwell. In Idaiyangudi the same inscription in Tamil tells how "all his attainments and fame did not divert him from his great purpose and the simplicity of his missionary life." We lament this only, that his Society does not perpetuate the Caldwell College which he founded at Tuticorin.

X.

HON. ION KEITH-FALCONER.

(1856–1887.)

THE FIRST MODERN MISSIONARY TO ARABIA.

IBRAHIM'S passionate prayer for Ismail (as the Arabs call them), "O that Ishmael might live before Thee!" was uttered four thousand years ago. The descendants of the mocking son of Abraham and his Egyptian slave-girl have proved to be the most bitter and, as yet, successful foes of Him who said, "Abraham rejoiced to see My day; and he saw it and was glad." First in modern times, the young Scots noble, Ion Keith-Falconer, sought to answer the cry by laying down his life for the people of Arabia.

It was in the month of September 1886, when his family were living at Darn Hall, Eddleston, that he and I spent many an hour roaming over the Tweed country around Peebles, and by the classic shores of St. Mary's Loch. Ever his talk was of the Arabs, whose language he had just learned to master, to whose utter neglect by the Church of Christ he had not long before awoke when on a tour in Upper Egypt, and under the spell of the mission of John Wilson of

Bombay. The career of Raymund Lulli, too, had only then flashed upon him as an example calling him to work faster and faster, that the new covenant blessing of Christ may be made known to the "great nation" of the Bedaween. For was not Ishma-el ("he whom God hears") so named "because the Lord hath heard thy affliction." To the Mohammedan as to the Jew, each still the opprobrium of Christian missions, the promise will certainly be fulfilled through faithful confessors like the Spanish and the Scottish nobles Raymund Lulli and Ion Keith-Falconer, though nigh forty centuries have passed since the pathetic scene at the well of the Living One who seeth the Arab.

At Edinburgh, on the 5th day of July 1856, Ion Grant Neville Keith-Falconer was born, the third son of the eighth Earl of Kintore. His house represents the historic glories of Dunottar Castle, of the Earl Marischal Keith, and King William the Lion's falconer. His childhood was passed at Keith Hall, in the very heart of Aberdeenshire, "whar Gadie rins," "at the back of Ben-na-chie;" though Cambridge, rather than his ancestral college, claims him as one of its foremost sons. So he grew up, combining the virtues of both in firmness of character, in breadth of culture, in the grace of charity. It is noteworthy that the other young nobleman who stands alone with him in having given himself and his all to the evangelization of the world was also of Aberdeen, not in lineage only, but in name.

When Ion Keith-Falconer was a boy of thirteen,

a budding athlete as well as scholar, he heard of the sudden death of the Hon. James Henry Hamilton Gordon, eldest son of the fifth Earl of Aberdeen. Young Gordon was known as the best rifle shot of his year. His canoe voyages up some of the rivers of Europe had trained him to be first in the university boat, and his death by an accident the day before the annual race led to its postponement. When a boy of fourteen at Cheam School, he declared his "desire to be a missionary, and to give himself up entirely to the Lord's work." When he was cut off at twenty-three years of age, he had planned the purchase of a large tract of land in South Africa, and was looking forward to his own ordination to the ministry, that, at the head of a staff of teachers and artisans, he might Christianize some of the Kafir or Zulu tribes. What death cut short for him was carried out by his mother, the Dowager-Countess, and brother, the present Earl, and brothers-in-law, Lords Polwarth and Balfour of Burleigh. The Gordon Memorial Mission at Umsinga, Natal, has almost ever since been carried on, aided by his fortune of about ten thousand pounds, by Dr. Duff and the Free Church of Scotland. The Gordon and the Keith-Falconer Missions, to Zulus and Arabs, are the answer of Aberdeen to the reproach that, however great and patriotic their devotion to imperial politics, the peers and the wealthy of our country hold aloof from the saving essence and reason of our Empire, the mission of Christ to the fifth of the world entrusted to our rule and governance.

Ion Keith-Falconer, like his two brothers, Dudley and Arthur, immediately older and younger than himself, seems to have been gracious from his birth. His two characteristics as a boy were the truthfulness and self-sacrifice that marked all his manhood. These, under his mother's teaching, found their conscious root in love to Christ. Already, when in his fifth year he went by no other name in the household at Keith Hall than that of "the angel," the old nurse used to say that she was sure he would one day be a missionary. The record of his ungrudging generosity to the poor reads like the legend of that other prince, Gautama, the founder of Buddhism before Jesus was born into the world. After passing through the same preparatory school of Cheam, under Mr. Tabor, in which H. H. Gordon had been trained, he won an entrance scholarship at Harrow, then under Dr. Butler. His house-master noted particularly his open loyalty to his religious convictions, while he astonished his tutor by declaring himself in heart and intention a member of the Free Church of Scotland, and on principle opposed to episcopal rites. "Not that he was anything of a prig or a Pharisee—far from it. He was an earnest, simple-hearted, devout Christian boy," wrote the master.

How he impressed Dr. Butler, to whom, when at Cambridge, he offered to continue certain prizes for the study of the Scriptures at Harrow, in memory of his father, the present Master of Trinity tells in a letter to his learned and devout biographer, Dr. Sinker,

which thus concludes: "He told me of the plan which he had formed for going to Aden, and there employing his knowledge of Arabic for missionary purposes. To those who believe in the abiding results of devotion to the cause and the person of Christ, his short life will not seem a failure. His image will remain fresh in the hearts of many as of a man exceptionally noble and exceptionally winning, recalling to them their own highest visions of unselfish service to God and man, and helping them to hold fast the truth that in the spiritual world nothing but self-sacrifice is permanently fruitful, and that the seed of a truly Christian life is not quickened except it die."

When he passed to the Modern Side of Harrow, he began to develop the two powers in which he was about to prove the champion—cycling and shorthand writing. There he drew from Mr. E. E. Bowen the remark: "I have often known young men who were candid, many who were devout, and many who were pleasant; but I can hardly remember any who united the three qualities so fully." He then showed particular interest in the Old Testament, and no little delight in questions of theology. His letters to his future sister-in-law, Lady Sydney Montague, are full of the delicate self-revealing of a frank youth of seventeen:—"Do you know the hymn beginning—

> 'The sands of time are sinking;
> The dawn of heaven breaks'?

It is my favourite one.

'O Christ! He is the fountain,
The deep, sweet well of love;
The streams on earth I've tasted—
More deep I'll drink above;
There to an ocean fullness
His mercy doth expand,
And glory—glory dwelleth
In Immanuel's land.'

I wish I had tasted more deeply of that stream than I have.....I have very nearly decided to become a Free Church minister. If so, you will have to look over my Hebrew exercises and hear me the Shorter Catechism.....The last of my texts for to-day on the roller is, 'Surely, I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.' I don't feel as if I was *ready* for that. I mean I am so bad. But 'I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins.'"

It was at this time that he formed the fast friendship with Mr. Charrington, for whose Mile End Mission he was to do so much before he gave himself to Arabia. "I like Charrington because he is quite devoted to Him, and has really given up all for His glory. I must go and do the same soon." With him, and in the Jesus Lane and Barnwell Theatre services, in which H. H. Gordon also had worked, Ion Keith-Falconer showed, as so many have done, that Home Missions are the best preparation for Foreign Missionary work. There he studied and pursued the best methods for influencing sinful men. There he gained the gift of clear, impressive spiritual utterance and boldness in winning souls, as Henry Martyn had done. There he learned how the very abundance

of gospel privileges and workers forms such a contrast to the destitution of the majority of the human race outside of Christendom, that he must obey the Master's commands rather in the uttermost parts of the earth, and for every creature.

Ion Keith-Falconer began the ten years of his Cambridge preparation as the first modern missionary to Arabia in the October term of 1874. Even then, at eighteen, his height was six feet three inches; but time and his athletic exercises developed his figure with finely-proportioned symmetry. He seemed capable of any amount of physical endurance, and he rejoiced in his youth with a pure joy. His feats even then, on the old style of bicycle, which he mounted and rode like a tall giant, were the wonder of the experts, whose professional champions he defeated. But he seems to have had the sub-conviction that the strain might prove injurious, although he never admitted what his most intimate friends feared, that he was not really and enduringly robust. Doubtless he had inherited some physical weakness, which showed itself in slight deafness in one ear, and made him occasionally seem absent to those on the wrong side. Then he was sometimes dreamy. As Dr. Sinker tells us, he had the too rare virtue of abhorring talk for talking's sake—the talk which is made as though silence were necessarily a bad thing in itself. His courtesy was of the self-sacrificing kind. He identified himself with those who sought his counsel and sympathy and help.

At Cambridge he reverted to the Classical Side, and he did not delay becoming the pupil of Dr. Sinker, the librarian of his college, and the most learned and successful of Hebraists. Resolving to read for theological honours, he embarked, in 1875, on the course which made him successively an expert in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, and so led him as a Free Church of Scotland missionary to Arabia. Dr. Wright, the famous Professor of Arabic, read both Syriac and Arabic with him for the Semitic Languages Tripos. One of his examiners was E. H. Palmer, Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, on whose death, at the hands of the Arabs of the Wady Sudr, he became his successor. Alike as a reverent student of the Bible and a missionary in training to deal with the Mohammedans, he welcomed all scholarly work on the elucidation of the text of the Old Testament and its exegesis, and he personally assisted critics like Dr. Lagarde, Ewald's successor at Göttingen. In 1885 he published, and dedicated "to my friend and teacher, William Wright, LL.D.," his translation of *Kalilah and Dimnah*,* or the Fables of Bidpai, "being an account of their literary history, with a translation of the later Syriac version of the same, and Notes." The critics at once hailed him as in the first rank of scholarship, while he modestly acknowledged his indebtedness to Dr. Sinker and the late Professor W. Robertson Smith. The work has a missionary interest, as it was a missionary preparation, being the report of the "almost

* Cambridge: at the University Press.

Christian" physician, Barzoi, whom in 531 A.D. King Khosru Nushirvan sent to India to procure from the Brahmans the earliest of all collections of moral stories, afterwards known to Europe as Pilpay, or Bidpai.

But it was to Arabic that the young scholar gave his strength. He professed to those who rallied him on his devotion that the language intensely interested him, as it had once absorbed Henry Martyn's enthusiasm. But he had evidently all along the latent consciousness that he ought to preach the gospel in Arabia. Besides the influence of Dr. John Wilson's *Life*, his visit to Egypt, and an appeal by General Haig, R.E., which finally focused his researches on Aden, he had come under the influence of General Gordon in 1880–81. The two had long conversations, on which Keith-Falconer often dwelt afterwards. Dr. Sinker well describes their intercourse:—

"There were certain common elements in the two men which must have tended to draw them to one another. In each there was the same deep, simple faith, ingrained and unwavering; the same absorbing realization of the workings of God's providence; the same utter abnegation of self when the thought of duty came in; and to a certain extent, somewhat of the same unconventionality in both speech and action.

"In Keith-Falconer's mind there had previously been the highest admiration for Gordon from what he had read of him; now that he had met and

spoken to him, he enshrined Gordon in his heart as one of his heroes. He set great store, as may well be imagined, on a little book which Gordon had given him, Clarke's *Scripture Promises*—promises which both men had come so absolutely to trust.

"The following letter is the second of two written by Gordon to Keith-Falconer in April 1881. The invitation was one which Keith-Falconer frequently regretted that circumstances had prevented him from accepting:—

'5 Rockstone Place, Southampton,
25/4/1881.

'My Dear Mr. Keith-Falconer,—I only wish I could put you into something that would give you the work you need—namely, secular and religious work, running side by side. This is the proper work for man, and I think you could find it.

'Would you go to Stamboul as extra unpaid attaché to Lord Dufferin; if so, why not try it, or else as private secretary to Petersburg? If you will not, then come to me in Syria to the Hermitage.—Believe me, with kind regards, yours sincerely,

'C. G. Gordon.'

"As was the case when any subject lay near his heart, Keith-Falconer talked much at this time to his intimate friends of Gordon, and his wonderful career. One incident, I remember, he was very fond of dwelling on. When the 'ever-victorious' Chinese army under Gordon's leadership had accomplished its work, the richest gifts were gratefully pressed

on him. Pecuniary rewards of every kind he absolutely refused; the only thing he would accept being a gold medal, the sole material result to him of his marvellous successes. Some time after his arrival in England, wishing to contribute to the Cotton Famine Fund, and finding himself somewhat short of money at the time, he deliberately gave up his gold medal for this purpose.

"When Gordon was sent out for the relief of Khartoum, Keith-Falconer followed his movements with the keenest interest, and eagerly looked for tidings. As the news came of the long, solitary watch in that far-off post, where that noblest of the noble waited, without fear and at last without hope, for the help which England, or rather her rulers, would not send, Keith-Falconer's anxiety became intense. When at last the news came of the treachery at Khartoum and the bloody massacre, he at first hoped against hope that the news was false, and that the sacredness with which Gordon was known to be invested must have sufficed to save him. When all hope was clearly gone, his grief as for a most dear friend was blended with the keenest indignation that one of England's noblest sons should have served as a mere counter in the reckless game of politics."

To master the colloquial Arabic, Keith-Falconer went to Assiout, the farthest station of the United Presbyterian Church of America, on the Upper Nile. There he served himself assistant to Rev. Dr. Hogg,

a self-made Scotsman, who from the miner's pit rose through the school and university system of his country to be the first Arabic scholar and missionary in Egypt. By this time he was engaged to his future wife, Miss Gwendolen Bevan, and his letters to her and her mother reveal an excess of work which ended in two attacks of fever. There, too, under the most favourable circumstances, he had lessons in mission work and Oriental character. "I am getting on with Arabic, but it is most appallingly hard." To the last he would not admit more than this—"I have learnt a good deal." On his return to Cambridge, with his wife, he was greatly excited by the departure of his intimate friend, Mr. C. T. Studd of Trinity College, as a missionary to China. The die was cast, in his own case, for South Arabia. Early in 1885, he sought an interview with General Haig, R.E., whose recent paper, "On Both Sides of the Red Sea," recommended Aden as the open door to the Mohammedans of Yemen and Hadramaut. That officer discovered he had already made up his mind to go out there for six months to see what the place and prospects of work were like.

At this stage I found Ion Keith-Falconer in September 1886, when he had resolved to realize at once his desire to be a missionary and to be a representative of his own Free Church of Scotland, by offering himself to its Foreign Missions Committee. Even although I was then unaware of his two

attacks of fever in the Nile Valley, the knowledge of which would have made me much more persistent in my counsel, I urged him, day after day, to begin at such a centre as Bombay. There he and his young wife would become accustomed to the climate; there they would have the experience of Principal Mackichan and the other missionaries of the Wilson College; there he would meet with Mohammedans from all Asia; and thence he could at leisure visit the coasts of Arabia from Aden to Muscat. Then he would be in a position to fix on Aden as his head-quarters, and to work with a knowledge of the climatic conditions. But, like Henry Martyn, Ion Keith-Falconer ever replied as if he felt constrained by the Spirit to go at once to Aden. He longed to be at his life-work, and that was among the Arabs, in their own land, speaking the Arabic language, and completing his mastery of its literature, and of every means by which he might win them to the Son of God. His final argument—that they were going out for six months to prospect—finally carried the day, and the Free Church of Scotland heartily accepted the service. The twenty-eighth of October found them in Aden. In a house perched on the side of a steep hill rising out of the extinct crater, with the town and camp at their feet, they spent the experimental months till the sixth of March, when they returned confirmed in the conviction that here, or in the neighbourhood, was the base for the slow assault of Christianity on Islam in its original

seat. He had selected the frontier village of Sheikh-Othman to be the centre of a medical and industrial mission. In Aden itself he had encouraged the British soldiers of the garrison to visit him, and he delighted in his walks to urge upon them consistent Christian living. They appreciated his manly self-sacrifice.

Having given himself, and £300 a year for at least seven years as the salary of a medical colleague, Dr. Cowen, Ion Keith-Falconer was solemnly appointed by the General Assembly on May 26, 1886, to found and carry on his mission to the Arab Mohammedans. Professor Robertson Smith's resignation of the distinguished post of Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, which E. H. Palmer had previously held, led to the offer of the appointment being pressed on the missionary. In the hurry of his preparations he at once gave himself to the Dutch language, that he might master a valuable authority on the Pilgrimage to Mecca, having chosen that as the subject of his three lectures. They were written in shorthand, an article on which for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he had just contributed, and unfortunately have not yet been published. With his usual common-sense he sought to insure his life, and the physician pronounced it to be of the "first class;" but the insurance office feared his proposed station, and fixed a premium which was practically prohibitive.

The various addresses which the missionary de-

livered in Scotland and England are thus summed up as his manifesto to Islam and his appeal to the Church of Christ:—

"I wish to show (1) That there are weak points in Islam, which, if persistently attacked, must lead to its eventual overthrow; while Christianity has forces which make it more than a match for Mohammedanism (or any other religion), provided always that it has free play and a fair field; (2) That the efforts already made to Christianize Mohammedan countries have produced commensurate results; (3) What practical encouragements we had during our residence at Aden. In conclusion, I make an appeal.

"(1) The great truth which the Arabian prophet preached was the truth of the one God, the Creator of the worlds, who brought us into being, who does as He pleases, is merciful and pitiful, the requiter of good and evil, the all-wise and all-powerful. But while he taught rightly that there is one God, he did not show the way to Him. The gospel does this, and therefore has an infinite advantage over Islam. The Koran is intensely legal, and all defects in the true believer will be pardoned, that is, overlooked, by the Merciful One. As the law to the Jews, so Islam to the Arabs, is a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ. Again, the Koran is in a sense founded on our Christian Scriptures. The prophet did not profess to come as a destroyer, but as a renovator and a completer. He posed as the restorer

of the true religion of Abraham, which had become grossly corrupted; and the building of the Kaaba, the Meccan temple, he ascribed to that patriarch and Ishmael. Of Christ he ever spoke in terms of the greatest reverence, and even admitted His miraculous birth. 'The Word of God,' 'the Spirit of God,' are among the epithets applied to Him in the Koran. Mohammed himself was the last, the seal, the greatest of the prophets; and the Koran, he said, was sent down from heaven to men as a confirmation or verification of what they already had in the gospel and the law. As the Messiah and the gospel had superseded (not overthrown) the law and the prophets, so Mohammed and the Koran had superseded all that had gone before. What a handle has he thus given to us! For a Moslem cannot logically refuse to receive the gospel, since it was to confirm its truth that the Koran was given.

"When a Mohammedan realizes that the Koran and the gospel are inconsistent, he must either renounce his faith or pronounce our New Testament a forgery. I remember that on one occasion an intelligent hajji (pilgrim to Mecca), after reading a few chapters of St. John, in which the Lord makes claims and promises infinitely transcending those of Mohammed, returned me the book, refusing to read it any more, because 'it made his heart tremble lest it should be seduced to follow after the Messiah.' He had realized that to follow Christ meant to forsake Mohammed; but, lacking courage, he shut his eyes to

truth. Mohammed, while professing to acknowledge Christ, ignored or was ignorant of His claims, and has succeeded for more than twelve centuries in standing between men and the Light. Give the gospel to the Mohammedans, and they must at any rate be *logically* convinced that their prophet has fearfully misled his followers, for their prophet and his Koran fall infinitely short of our Prophet and His gospel. How should they then supersede these? Further, it is well known that the natural inclinations and passions of mankind find full provision made for them in the prophet's religion. It is quite sufficient to point to the well-known position of women in Islam, Islam's recognition of slavery, and the combination of religion with political power, which has always formed a pillar of the Mohammedan state, to see that the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, which Christ taught men to repress and deny, were simply legalized and regulated by Mohammed. It is no wonder that so many millions of human beings are content to embrace a religion which, while professing to satisfy the inborn cravings of mankind after God, at the same time offers him such carnal attractions. But this is no more than saying that Islam is as strong as human nature. Any one who takes the trouble to read the Epistles of Paul (and not all of the writers on Islam will take so much pains) can convince himself that Christianity has proved herself more than a match for the worst, the most inveterate, vices which enslave mankind.

Can a religion like that of Islam be described as a powerful one, *quâ* religion, which has owed its propagation and continuance so largely to such base and carnal means? From its birth Islam has been steeped in blood and lust—blood spilt and lust sated by the sanctions of religion. Certainly there was a time in the prophet's career when he had in him something of the spirit of the old prophets; but when driven out of Mecca at the flight to Medina, he left his prophetic mantle behind him, and thenceforth became little more than an earthly ruler aiming at absolute power. From that time he employed all the arts of an unscrupulous policy. The force of arms, threats, concessions and compromises (which sometimes shocked his friends), the promise of rich booty—all these he did not scruple to employ. By preaching the truth of the one God, he raised himself to a certain platform of power and influence; the sword and the spear, diplomacy and statecraft, raised him much higher.

"But Islam not only owed much to its own power and attractions: it was indebted also to the weak and divided condition of the Christian community in Arabia at the prophet's time. Christianity was well known in various parts of Arabia when Mohammed appeared. Shortly before his birth, a Christian army from Yemen stood before the gates of Mecca, with the intention of demolishing the Kaaba, when a sudden epidemic of smallpox wrought such frightful havoc among them that a miserable remnant returned disheartened to their own country. There were

Christian kingdoms, too, in Lakhm and Ghassan; but the church was split by dissensions as to the nature and person of Christ, and the worship of the Virgin. The sight of the bitter quarrels of the Nestorians and Eutychians must have contributed not a little to prejudice the Arabian prophet's ignorant mind against Christianity; and Islam was destined soon to sweep it completely out of the peninsula. Nor can the crusades in later times have failed to embitter the Moslems, and mislead their minds as to the true nature of the religion of Christ; and, speaking generally, it may be said that the church is itself to blame for the very rise of Islam. The Arabs were sunk in idolatry. The church, instead of holding out to them the lamp of truth, was engaged in internal warfare. The gross ignorance of the prophet with regard to the Scriptures and the true nature of Christianity proves how remiss had been the church in Hijaz in obeying the command to preach the gospel to every creature, while his general acceptance and recognition of those Scriptures goes far to show that had he known and understood their contents, he would never have entered on the career he did. But these considerations ought not to cause the slightest misgivings as to the imperative duty to take the gospel to the Mohammedans, or as to the success which must follow. For where the gospel in its simplicity has been faithfully, patiently, and honestly preached to them, the desired results have ensued.

"(2) Raymundus Lullius, a Spanish noble of Majorca in the thirteenth century,* after vainly endeavouring to persuade the Romish Church to institute a mission to the Moslems, became himself a missionary to the Arabs of North Africa. Nine years he spent in the study of the Arabic language, the Koran, and the Mohammedan traditions. After this preparation he preached boldly, carrying his life in his hands. He suffered many hardships and imprisonments, but ere he died had raised a small Christian church, now long since dispersed. But it was not until this century that the church could be said to awake to her duty in the matter. Notably the American Presbyterians have done much to shake Islam, although they work mainly among the degraded Christian churches of Egypt and Syria. In the American and other mission schools, thousands of Moslem boys and girls are daily taught the truths of the gospel. Within quite recent years some fifty Moslem converts have been baptized in Egypt by the Americans, but there are many more unbaptized converts. In Peshawar, where the Church Missionary Society have long been represented, a Christian church is filled by Moslem converts, and a large school for Moslem children flourishes there. Are not these startling and encouraging facts? The success in Egypt and Syria would have been far greater had not a Mohammedan government done its best to check and thwart the missionaries; but a new day

* See page 13.

is dawning—European and especially English influence is rapidly gaining ground in Egypt and the East. Not many years ago, a Moslem convert to Christ had to fear for his life, and baptism would have ensured his speedy death; yet a few months ago the government of Egypt did not dare even to degrade a sergeant of police who had received Christian baptism. Western education is rapidly gaining favour in the East, and widening the cramped boundaries of Eastern thought. The Koran is doomed.

"(3) Many a time was I asked by natives in the street and the market, when was I going to set up my school, as they wished to send their children to it. A man once handed me a slip of paper on which he had written, 'If you want the people to walk in your way, then set up a school.' Our Arabic gospels are constantly clamoured for, and received with the greatest readiness. To my question, 'Why do you want the Injil?' I several times received the answer, 'Because it is God's book, sent down from heaven.' In the town of el-Hauta, where lives the sultan of the neighbouring Abdali tribe, our books were welcomed. The amount of sickness is frightful. The road through the Abdali tribe is perfectly safe, and the sultan is extremely civil to the English governor.

"In conclusion, I wish to make an appeal. There must be some who will read these words, or who, having the cause of Christ at heart, *have ample independent means, and are not fettered by genuine*

home ties. Perhaps you are content with giving annual subscriptions and occasional donations, and taking a weekly class. *Why not give yourselves, money, time, and all, to the foreign field?* Our own country is bad enough, but comparatively many must and do remain to work at home, while very few are in a position to go abroad. Yet how vast is the foreign mission field! 'The field is the world.' Ought you not to consider seriously what your duty is? The heathen are in darkness, and we are asleep. Perhaps you try to think that you are meant to remain at home, and *induce others to go.* By subscribing money, sitting on committees, speaking at meetings, and *praying for missions*, you will be doing the most you can to spread the gospel abroad. Not so. By going yourself, you will produce a tenfold more powerful effect. You can give and pray for missions wherever you are; you can send descriptive letters to the missionary meetings, which will be much more effective than second-hand anecdotes gathered by you from others; and you will help the committees finely by sending them the results of your experience. Then, in addition, you will have added your own personal example, and taken your share of the real work. We have a great and imposing war office, but a very small army. You have wealth snugly vested in the funds, you are strong and healthy, you are at liberty to live where you like, and occupy yourself as you like. *While vast continents are shrouded in almost utter dark-*

ness, and hundreds of millions suffer the horrors of heathenism or of Islam, the burden of proof lies upon you to show that the circumstances in which God has placed you were meant by Him to keep you out of the foreign mission field."

With such words in our hearts we reach the end —no! the beginning of the Evangelical Church of Christ in Arabia. On December 8, 1886, Keith-Falconer the second time landed at Aden. Until the stone mission-house could be built, the three missionaries—himself, his wife, and the doctor—settled in a lodge in a garden, walled off from the desert around Sheikh-Othman, belonging to a Parsi merchant. Visits to Bir Achmed and more distant Lahej, attendance on the patients, who soon learned to crowd the little dispensary-hospital, personal dealing with the Bedaween, and Bible reading in company to enlighten and sanctify all, filled up each day. Every hour the keen apostle, yearning for souls, methodically marked out. Lord and Lady Aberdeen, and Lady Brassey and her daughters, had at an early stage landed from the yacht and visited the station, when they were the guests of the Resident, General Hogg. After that, General Haig was their only visitor, and on February 7, 1887, he reported thus: "He looked well and strong. I anticipate for him years of usefulness." In three days thereafter a camel ride to Bir Achmed resulted in his first attack of fever, and others followed as the hot season stole on with the month of May.

"Read the *Life of Judson*," he wrote to his mother,

the Countess-Dowager, "and you will see that our troubles are nought." His last letter, dated the third of May, has these words: "The people are flocking to our dispensary, and we keep a few in-patients. I long for health to be at them." On the ninth of May his mind wandered at times, but he prayed for restoration to health to carry on the work begun, and that God would "graciously dispose the hearts of friends at home towards the cause of missions, in the name of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ." Then he said, "How I wish that each attack of fever had brought me nearer to Christ—nearer, nearer, nearer." And so, with memories of his saintly brother Dudley in the hour of his death, Ion Keith-Falconer slept painlessly away towards sunrise on Wednesday, May 11, 1887. That evening, as the manner is in the tropics, he was buried. The soldiers of H.M.'s 98th Regiment carried the body to its last resting-place in the garrison cemetery.

Some ten years afterwards, during which the Keith-Falconer Mission had extended its influence under two medical missionaries, and built its Aden Church as a memorial of the founder, I visited the scene consecrated by his ministry and sacrifice. The November sun was rising in tropical brightness over the three mission-houses at Sheikh-Othman as we entered the Bay of Aden. The Ion Keith-Falconer Memorial Church adjoins the landing-place at Steamer Point. A little to the east is the second church of

the Church of England, built largely from collections made in the mail steamers of a quarter of a century ago. At a cost of 11,500 rupees, or £850, three-fourths of which was raised by the children of the Free Church of Scotland, our Scots Church rises, solidly built of the dark stone of the place by an Arab contractor and workmen, some of whom were Jews, carefully supervised. Notwithstanding the change of the British infantry regiment every year, and the fact that the artillery remain only three years, the church has not a more prosperous or hopeful congregation. In the pioneering stage of the Arab Mission, it supplies the spiritual life and enthusiasm of common worship and evangelical effort.

From our Scots Church we drive, under a powerful sun, but fanned by a sea breeze like that of the Riviera, along the Marina, through two long tunnels, into the crater of the extinct volcano which contains the British camp and the native town of Aden, and so up to the famous tanks constructed centuries ago to catch the torrent rains which, on an average of three years, pour down over the bare lava rock. We enter the British and Foreign Bible Society's depôt, at a busy corner of the main street, to shake hands with its almost too devoted workers. Soon a turn in the road, past the house perched on a rock where he lived during his first visit in 1885, brings us to the square, well-fenced enclosure which forms the resting-place of Ion Keith-Falconer. Save that the slightly-sloping ground faces the bright, airy blue of the

ION KEITH-FALCONER MEMORIAL CHURCH, ADEN.

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Gulf, the Aden cemetery is dreary indeed. Already it is high noon, and the vertical sun reminds us of many a Bengal hot season as we pick our steps amidst the graves of British officers and men, each with its simple cross, and occasional inscription. In the middle of a row of such, to the right of the somewhat rude entrance, there rises the tomb of our first missionary to Arabia, who died at thirty, one year younger than Henry Martyn, and was followed by the aged Bishop Valpy French, on the eastern shore at Muscat. A massive block of white Egyptian marble covers the grave, while there rises at its head an exquisitely pure slab, with this inscription under a coronet, which might well represent the martyr's crown :—

TO
THE DEAR MEMORY OF
THE HON. ION KEITH-FALCONER,
THIRD SON OF
THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF KINTORE,
WHO ENTERED INTO REST
AT SHEIKH-OTHMAN, MAY 11, 1887,
Aged 30 years.

"If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am there shall also my servant be: if any man serve me, him will my Father honour."

The sacred spot is the first missionary milestone into Arabia.

As the Keith-Falconer Mission, bearing its founder's name, and generously supported by his family, this first modern mission to the Arabs may be said to have begun anew in the year 1889. First of all,

Principal Mackichan, when on his return to Bombay after furlough, carefully inspected the Sheikh-Othman headquarters, and, with the local medical authorities, reported in favour of continuing and extending all the plans of its founder. The mission is now, as the result of past experience, conducted by two fully-qualified medical men, one of whom is married, working in most brotherly harmony, and preaching the gospel in Arabic, as well as healing the sick. Its Arabic and English school was taught till lately by Alexander Aabud, a married member of the Syrian Evangelical Church, from the Lebanon, but trained in the American Mission in Egypt. It is now conducted by two of its first pupils, and is likely to have added to it a boarding school of orphans rescued from a local famine in 1898. All over the crowded camp and town of Aden, in the populous village of Sheikh-Othman, ten miles in the desert, and away among the protected Arab tribes up to the Turkish hills and towns of Sanaa and Hodeida on the Red Sea, the medical mission has made a name for itself, and its doctors are received or visited at their dispensary as the messengers of God. European and native alike, natives from India and Africa, as well as the Arab camel-drivers and subjects of the Sultan of Lahej — himself and his family patients of the mission—turn to the missionaries with gratitude and hope, and will do them any service, as I frequently witnessed, even in one day's drive. Nowhere has the influence of medical missions, in this early stage

of course preparatory, been so remarkable as in this Yemen corner of Arabia during the past ten years.

Passing out of the impregnable fortifications of this Gibraltar of our Asiatic empire through the Barrier Gate, we found ourselves driving through the desert around the curving Bay of Aden. To the left we see our own and other mail steamers, and all the busy life of a port the trade of which is every year increasing in value. To the right is the cavalry station of Khor Maksar, with its splendid troop of a hundred Punjabis mounted on well-equipped camels. There Ion Keith-Falconer sought recovery from fever more than once in the hospitable bungalow of Lieutenant Gordon, a nephew of the hero of Khartoum. We pass files of camels carrying water from the mission village, or coffee and spices from the region of Mokha, which British Aden has now superseded as a port. At least a thousand camels pass each way every day, and Sheikh-Othman is their halting-place. Hence its importance to the medical and teaching missionary. Soon we strike off the high road, well made by Captain Houston, R.E., a friend of the mission, and here shaded by a fine mimosa avenue, and we are in the compound of Dr. J. C. Young's house. Two furlongs off is that of Dr. Morris; and forming the apex of the triangle, half a mile off, is the dispensary, school, and mission-house, first built by Ion Keith-Falconer himself. Between, or enclosed in that triangle, is the fine garden of the Government House, the site of the "shanty" in which the founder of

the mission died. Beyond is the extensive native village, with broad, sandy streets newly laid out, and the magistrate's house and dispensary.

The afternoon was now advanced, but a Jewish boy and an Arab youth in the school were examined. The best result, thus far, of the training we found in Ali, the Arab collector of the dues of the Sultan of Lahej, a youth of seventeen, at first utterly hostile to the missionaries, who have made him what he is—an upright and able lad, with independent but winning ways, of whom we shall hear more as time goes on. May the Spirit of God draw him and many others to His Son, as the divine wisdom has already bestowed on him new virtues of character and knowledge!

The tale of the self-sacrifice of the young Scots noble led three students of Dr. Lansing, Professor of Hebrew and Arabic in the New Brunswick College of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in the United States of America, to resolve to open a second mission in Arabia. Mr. Cantine and the two Zwemer brothers—one of whom has recently followed Ion Keith-Falconer to his rest from labours too abundant in such a climate—founded "The Arabian Mission" at Busrah, in Turkish Arabia. Thence, aided by medical missionaries, they have taken possession for Christ of Bahrein and other islands in the Persian Gulf, and of Muscat, where Valpy French lies after years of toil in North India and the Punjab. The Turkish occupation of Yemen and claim to Arabia proper still shuts the Christian missionary and the

Bible out of the healthier and cooler uplands approached from Hodeida, and out of the cities of Mecca and Medina. But the dust of the Scottish noble, the English bishop, and the American Zwemer, is holy seed sure to bear the divinely-promised fruit as the century goes on.

XI.

NILAKANTHA SHASTRI GOREH.

(1825-1895.)

FIRST BRAHMAN APOSTLE TO BRAHMANS AND OUTCASTES.

HENRY MARTYN brought to Christ the first Mohammedan, a courtier of the King of Oudh, who became an ordained native minister of the Church of England. Yet Henry Martyn used to say that the conversion of a Brahman would be "something more nearly approaching the resurrection of a dead body than anything I have yet seen." So it seemed in the year 1808, although Carey had baptized humble converts of the highest Brahmanical caste before that. Twenty-one years after, Alexander Duff baptized the first of the remarkable series of educated Brahmans whom he led to Christ through the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. Of these the most learned and famous was my old friend, the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, LL.D., whose *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy* and *The Aryan Witness* were written to convince the Brahmans that Jesus Christ alone is THE TRUTH.

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A more singular witness of the power of the Spirit of Christ than even these passed away in October, 1895, in the person of the great Brahman philosopher and Christian saint, Nilakantha Shastri Goreh, who was known in his later years as the Rev. Father Nehemiah Goreh. There has been no such convert and no such missionary to his countrymen, learned and outcaste, men and women, in my time, nor do I know his equal in the history of the Church since thinkers like Pantænus and Origen, in old Alexandria, turned from the idols and philosophies of Greece and Rome to teach and propagate Christianity. His career is a romance, but a romance to the glory of God.

In Bithoor, near Cawnpore, till he was hunted by the avenging troops into the Himalayan jungles of Nepal, dwelt the infamous Nana Dhoondopunt, up to Havelock's advance in 1857. The author of the two Cawnpore massacres, at the Ghat and the Well, was the highly pensioned representative of the last rulers of the Marathas, the Peshwas. Nilakantha came of a family who had been for generations diwans or *prime ministers* of the Peshwas, and afterwards of the Rajas of Banda. His grandfather and father became ascetics; the former resigned his diwani, and they were always loyal to the British Government.

Nilakantha was born at the village of Kashipoora, fifty miles east of Jhansi, on the eighth day of February 1825. But he always declared the city of Poona was his true home, as all his family were Brahmans from the Konkan, the ablest and generally

the least loyal in all India. Like St. Paul, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, he was born a Brahman of the Brahmans. Hence he was educated at Benares by two or three of its most learned Shastris, who expounded to him the Sanskrit grammar, the Nyaya philosophy, and, above all, the Vedas. When he was already twenty years of age, in the height of his youthful zeal and learning, he was met by the claims of Jesus Christ, as preached by the Rev. W. Smith and the other Church missionaries in that centre of Brahmanism. Unconsciously, his own account of his conversion,* given afterwards in a lecture to educated native gentlemen, carries out the parallel with the Hebrew apostle of the nations. At this time he wrote a refutation of the *Mataparikshа*, or *Examination of Religions*, a now rare work in English and Sanskrit, published at Bishop's College Press, Calcutta, by Dr. John Muir, C.S.I., in 1854, on his retiring from the Bengal Civil Service.

"I was a Hindu, nay, I can say I am a Hindu, if we understand by that term a genuine native of India like yourselves. I was a Brahman, and Benares was my home, though *Mahárâshtra desh* has been the country of my forefathers.....I was not acquainted with English in early life, nor did I associate with those who received an English education, and my faith in Hinduism remained undisturbed.....My faith, I repeat, was firm in the religion of our forefathers,

* In a little book, *Dwija*, the Rev. W. Smith tells the story from his side.

and I even despised Christianity, and thought it was a religion fitted for the ignorant *Mlechas* only, but that it could never be compared with our philosophies, whose doctrines were doctrines of deep wisdom. I was very proud of those philosophies, and I even ventured so far as to undertake the refutation of Christianity. With this object, I began to hold discussions with missionaries, read some controversial books, gave much attention to the controversy, and even wrote in refutation of Christianity. And so I went on for some years. You will observe that I was very partial towards my old religion, and very much prejudiced against Christianity.

"But notwithstanding all this, at last God opened my eyes, and He put this thought into my heart, that Christianity was not such a religion that I should deal with it with such a prejudiced mind, but that I ought to examine it, as well as my own religion, with impartiality, and with a sincere desire to know the truth. When thus God, by His mercy, removed prejudice from my mind, I began to see at once that Hinduism could not be a divinely revealed religion, and I soon came to the conclusion that I ought to embrace Christianity. Now, gentlemen, you understand that it is not an easy thing for a Brahman to become a Christian. Nay, it was far more difficult thirty-three years ago, when I embraced Christianity, than it is now. English education has brought about a great change in the minds of men since then. We, Christians, are respectfully treated now by hundreds

of young men everywhere (who have received an English education), and many more men have embraced Christianity since; and so men are gradually getting accustomed to the idea. It was different thirty-three years ago, and especially in such a place as Benares.

"I assure you it was a very great sacrifice to me to be separated from and cast out by my relatives, and to become the object of the greatest ignominy and reproach from all. But it was the force of conviction and the voice of conscience which showed me that I ought to embrace Christianity, and compelled me to embrace it, by His grace giving me strength and courage to do so. And now, dear sirs, that which I consider to be the greatest blessing for myself, I cannot help longing with all my heart my dear countrymen should partake in. This is my motive, dear sirs, in endeavouring now to bring the subject of Christianity before you."

As in the case of the first Brahman* who, in North India, came to Christ, and of many others since, it was our Lord's Sermon on the Mount which arrested the young Pandit when he searched the Christian Scriptures for an answer to the missionaries. The preacher who uttered such words, he argued, must be divine. He at once informed his father and friends of his desire to confess Christ, intending that the Benares Pandits should discuss with him the stupendous step; but they failed to convince him that Hinduism is from

* See *Life of Alexander Duff* (1879), Vol. I.

God. Twice, on leaving home for baptism, he returned, moved by tender affection for his father. But there ever rang in his ears the words, "How shall I escape if I neglect so great salvation?" To the last the father received his Christian son kindly, but the event hastened his end. At Jounpore, one of the Church missionaries, in the absence of Rev. W. Smith on furlough, received the convert as a member of the body of Christ, on the fourteenth of March 1848, adding to his name that of Nehemiah. He was then twenty-three years of age. He was joined by Lakhshmi, his wife, five years afterwards. Such was her husband's care and prayer in teaching her, that she too was baptized after fourteen months' instruction, a striking proof of what divine grace can effect on the mind of a heathen. She soon after died "a happy and glorious death," * leaving behind her a little girl, Ellen Lakhshmi Goreh, who was educated in England by Rev. W. T. Storrs and Mrs. Storrs as their adopted daughter. She has been, since 1880, a missionary in Allahabad.

The conversion of Nilakantha caused consternation among the Brahmans of Benares and Vedantists all over India, as the Apostle Paul's did among the Jews of similar spirit. But the Brahmans could neither persecute nor entice back the pride of their order. On the baptism of the young Sikh Maharaja, who was the ward of the Marquess of Dalhousie, Nilakantha accompanied Dhuleep Singh to England as his

* *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, January, 1855.

Sanskrit tutor, and with him was presented to the Queen. He did not cease his study of the Sanskrit books, that he might, through them, be a missionary to the Brahmans. He was welcomed in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, where his modesty was never destroyed by the lionizing which injures Hindu and Moslem visitors to England, both Christian and non-Christian. He attended theological lectures in the Islington College of the Church Missionary Society, which presented him with a watch.*

Nilakantha returned to India in the same steamer with Dr. Duff, and both were received by Dr. Wilson in Bombay. He was still, in 1855, a young man. To meet him there flocked to Dr. Wilson's house, on Malabar Hill, native Christians from many parts of Western India. He appeared among them in all the simplicity of his national life and dress, a Christian Brahman. He visited the mission colleges, conversed with theists of every school, and invited inquirers to conferences. At Poona he was in the original home and capital of his ancestors. There he held discussions with the late celebrated Krishna Shastri, whose biographer bore this testimony to him: "The Christian Pandit of Benares is no mean individual. He is very learned, and one given to sift matters. How an

* *History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. II., pages 74 and 167. Rev. C. F. Childe, the Principal from 1838 to 1858, describes Nilakantha, on his arrival, as "a man of superior intellectual power, but with a metaphysical turn of mind, which was a source of the most distressing experience to him. I believe we had few more genuine Christians in our body."

individual of such eminence got within the Christian fold is a matter of surprise to me." The news of the converted Brahman, from Benares, brought crowds to his lectures, by one of which three young men were won to the Truth. Two of these became, like him, its preachers as ordained missionaries — the Rev. Rutonji Nauroji of Aurungabad, and the Rev. Kasam Saheb Daud of Satara; the third was Shahu Daji, editor of the principal Marathi newspaper. Nilakantha crossed India slowly, preaching as he went, before the days of through railways, that he might find a retreat for a time in Bishop's College, Calcutta.

There, under the influence of Dr. Kay, then its Principal, he became an ardent follower of Dr. Pusey, and he received full orders at the hands of Bishop Milman in 1870.

Then it was that I made his personal acquaintance, and was led, while loving and honouring the *sadhu* or saint, to controvert in *The Friend of India* the sacramentarianism and ritualism which, after the good Bishop Cotton's death, had begun to affect not only the church but the British army, whose East India chaplains have from that time been less evangelical than of old. In 1868, having yielded to the most transcendental views of this kind, Nilakantha began the publication of *Tracts in Answer to Objections against Certain Points in Christianity as Taught by Christ's Holy Catholic Church.* The first was a volume of 128 octavo pages, "On Objections against the Catholic Doctrine of Eternal Punishment,"

written in a fine spirit. The earnest author sought to win the theistic Brahmos to the Anglican form of Christian truth and worship. His closing pages form one of the noblest missionary appeals in the English tongue. Meanwhile he did not cease to publish works in the Hindi and Marathi languages for the conversion of his Hindu countrymen. I have his *Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems*, which the scholar and inspector of public instruction, Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall of Oxford, translated into English, and published for the Calcutta Christian Book Society in 1862. It takes rank with Colebrooke's and K. M. Banerjea's treatises as a guide to penetrate the mysteries and refute the pantheism of the Brahmanical system. Here, too, his closing appeal to the priestly order he had left, giving up all for Christ, is a lofty, persuasive, and tender invitation to study the Word of God with due perseverance, impartiality, humbleness, and abnegation of self, as the only means of distinguishing clearly between what is true and what is false in matters of religious belief. "The true religion is now accessible to the people of India. May God in His infinite mercy grant, my dear countrymen, that you quench not the divine light." So he wrote six years later to the Brahmos: "Whosoever is earnest among you, whosoever among you thinks it no light matter to trifle with the tremendous realities of eternity, let him give up relying upon such a broken reed as the fancies of our poor and fallible reason, and accept

the teaching of God's Revelation, and be blessed for ever."

The Scottish Episcopal Church having opened a mission to the casteless and despised tribes at Chanda, in the Central Provinces of India, the newly-ordained Brahman went there in all humility. As the old ascetic life, which he had inherited and now consecrated, grew upon him, he joined the Cowley "Fathers" at Bombay, at Poona, and at Indore. He never ceased to pray and labour for the conversion of his brother, whom he visited frequently at Allahabad. He worked also among the Beni-Israel of Western India. He gave much time to the revision of both the Hindi and the Marathi Prayer-book. He died of apoplexy at Bombay on the twenty-ninth of October 1895, at the age of seventy.

One of his most intimate associates was the Rev. Dr. Hooper, of the Church Missionary Society, who has thus correctly, I think, estimated the intellectual weakness and spiritual strength which combined to form the religious experience of this remarkable Christian *rishi* or sage of the Church Catholic in India. Dr. Hooper writes:—

"I need not dwell on that feature in our departed brother's character which endeared him most, and for which he was most celebrated among his Indian fellow Christians throughout (at least) North and West India, namely, his *holy self-denying piety.* He was essentially a Christian *bhakta.* Whatever unworthy

suspicions and sad recriminations our native brethren may have from time to time indulged in towards each other, Nehemiah was *never*, I believe, the object of any of them. By common consent he stood so high above the rest of them that, as if he were a visitant from some celestial sphere, no one ever dreamed of attacking or insinuating anything against him. Whether he were High or Low Church, what his particular views were on particular points—all this counted for nothing with his Christian brethren of his own kith and kin. They saw plainly enough Christ in him, and with that they were content."

Dr. Hooper attributes the change from evangelical teaching to that of Dr. Pusey to the fact that "for many years after his conversion Nehemiah was *intellectually* in a sad state of doubt and uncertainty. Spiritually his feet were firm on the rock, and I have not the slightest doubt that he would have at any time laid down his life for Christ if required to do so; but, in the purely intellectual sphere, he was always haunted by the fear that *possibly* some new argument might occur which would turn the balance of probability in favour of Hinduism and against Christianity." This led him to seek refuge in the doctrine of the infallibility of the church. He was converted by bazaar preaching, and it is curious to note that he began to visit the preacher with "the sole purpose of convincing him of the truth of Hinduism. The contest was naturally long and severe between truth and error, the old and the new; but,

when it was over, baptism was the almost immediate result."

"With him," continues Dr. Hooper, "intellectual conviction *was* moral conviction. He often told me that he could never understand a person believing a thing was right and not doing it, or believing a religion was the only true one and not embracing it. The cause of this feature of his character was, of course, his perfect conscientiousness; but he erred, no doubt, in supposing that others were as conscientious as himself. Hence, his missionary work was almost purely that of striving to convince the intellect; for he could not imagine that if this were done conversion would not follow.....For many years of his life he was mainly engaged in delivering lectures in English, many of which were printed, the one object of all of which was to convince members of the Brahmo Samaj, and other recent outgrowths from Hinduism, that the new views which they had adopted were derived from Christianity, and could be historically proved to have been never and nowhere known except through the medium of the revelation which the Bible contains. He was firmly persuaded that they only needed to be convinced of the truth of this to follow it out to its logical sequence by becoming Christians. In the case of those who were conscientious, like himself, this feature of Nehemiah's mind produced splendid results. For instance, it was he, the Pandit, who was privileged to lead to Christ Maulvi Safdar Ali in 1864; and this led not only to a beautiful Christian

character, still in this world, and controversial treatises of a peculiarly gentle, Christ-like tone, but also to the conversion of a servant of his, now a clergyman in the Punjab, and, most interesting of all, to the conversion of Dr. Imad-ood-deen, an old friend of Safdar Ali's, and to a long life of great usefulness in the Master's cause."

This John Henry Newman of the Church of India was never greater than when, as the representative missionary of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, he settled down among the outcast Mangs and Mahars of Chanda, in the Central Provinces of India, to win them to Christ, while he ministered to the European Christians every Sunday. There he hoped to lead into the fullness of the truth the leader of the theistic Satnamees, the despised leather-workers known as Chamars, who had been influenced by some fragments of the Bible which fell into their hands to become pure livers and anti-idolaters. With them as with the Brahmos he seemed to fail, while his success among the educated and fanatical Brahmans, Mohammedans, and Parsis was unique.

Not less was the consecrated philosopher's spiritual influence among his countrywomen. His learned Marathi apologetics fell like good seed into the heart of the Brahman widow, Pandita Ramàbai, who groped her way through the theistic fancies of the Unitarians of America, which she visited, and became an evangelical believer in Christ. To meet her difficulties, in 1883, he wrote his important Marathi work, *Is there*

any Proof that Christianity is a Divinely-given Religion? The result, even since Nilakantha's death, is the baptism of twelve of the Hindu widows in her Home, an event which raised a storm of abuse around her from her countrymen, although one Hindu had the fairness and the courage to write that none of those who abused the Pandita seemed to have thought of the causes that brought about the step which the Hindu widows in question had taken. He draws a painful but true picture of the miserable and despised life to which Hinduism consigns women and girls who are so unfortunate as to become widows. He is not surprised that "the poor girls should have embraced Christianity, which at least frees them from the actual miseries of their life;" and he adds, "Let my co-religionists read and consider this, and take some practical measures for the amelioration of the condition of our widows at the National Social Conference at Poona."

Nilakantha, the Christian Brahman, being dead thus speaketh, thus worketh, through his Brahmani convert. Miss Small, of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission at Poona, has written: "A series of meetings is being held with the students, under the superintendence of Mr. Wilder. Pandita Ramàbai had consented to address them, and Mrs. Wilder and I were specially asked to go down and uphold her. There were other ladies there, however, and Mr. Small presided. Usually there have not been more than thirty or forty students; but on this evening, as we ap-

proached the hall, which is in the centre of the city, the street was crowded by a turbulent set of men. I confess it was with a little tremor that I ascended the narrow, rickety stair, and had to force my way through a crowd of men—a literal crowd, for there was not room for them to sit, and they stood on the benches holding on to one another. There was a good deal of noise and muttering when the Pandita appeared with Màhlanbai and Sundrabai; but Mr. Small, in a few judicious words, quieted them, putting them upon their honour as gentlemen to behave courteously and to listen quietly. He told them that they ought to be proud, as we were, of Ramàbai. You can imagine the scene, *as in Poona*—a Hindu widow standing up before a large audience of Brahmans, and boldly confessing Christ. I wish I could give her speech. She first told them how she herself had been brought to this—how she had gone to England and seen in the free social life of the people what Christianity is and does for men. She told them that she was not afraid of them, for she had got the liberty with which God makes His people *free*. Then she spoke of their system—how that they were slaves to caste and custom, and could not even break bread out of their own caste. She, indeed, hit them very hard, and there were restless murmurings going on all the time; but she went on, the brave little woman, her Bible in her hand, reading several passages to illustrate her position."

Nor is this all. Nilakantha Shastri Goreh's

daughter, Ellen Lakhshmi, is a Christian poetess. Her fellow-Christian workers all over the English-speaking world delight to use her hymn:—

"MY REFUGE.

"'In the secret of Thy presence.'—Ps. xxxi. 20.

"In the secret of His presence how my soul delights to hide!
Oh, how precious are the lessons which I learn at Jesu's side!
Earthly cares can never vex me, neither trials lay me low;
For when Satan comes to tempt me, to the Secret Place I go.

"When my soul is faint and thirsty, 'neath the shadow of His wing
There is cool and pleasant shelter, and a fresh and crystal spring,
And my Saviour rests beside me, as we hold communion sweet;
If I tried I could not utter what He says when thus we meet.

"Only *this* I know, I tell Him all my doubts and griefs and fears;
Oh, how patiently He listens, and my drooping soul He cheers!
Do you think He ne'er reproves me? What a false Friend He would be
If He never, never told me of the sins which He must see!

"Do you think that I could love Him half so well, or as I ought,
If He did not tell me plainly of each sinful deed and thought?
No, He is very faithful, and that makes me trust Him more;
For I know that He *does* love me, though He wounds me very sore.

"Would you like to know the sweetness of the secret of the Lord?
Go and hide beneath His shadow; this shall then be your reward.
And whene'er you leave the silence of that happy meeting-place
You must mind and bear the image of your Master in your face.

"You will surely lose the blessing, and the fulness of your joy,
If you let dark clouds distress you, and your inward peace destroy.
You may always be abiding, if you will, at Jesu's side;
In the secret of His Presence you may every moment hide."

When in England she sent her first poem anonymously to Frances Ridley Havergal, who replied *:—

"OAKHAMPTON, STOURPORT,
Nov. 24, 1876.

"MY DEAR 'INDIAN SISTER,'—I do not think I ever had anything so touchingly beautiful as your verses,

* Rev. Charles Bullock's Preface to her Hymns of Christian Faith, entitled *From India's Coral Strand.*

even among the many most pleasant things which have reached me. And it has only just occurred to me to thank *you* for them, because all the morning there has been an undercurrent of thanksgiving for them to Him who is so good to me, besides the first gush of definite praise. For it was a deal too pleasant to take otherwise than as His own direct teaching to me; as if the Master Himself said to me, 'Sing on!' But how could you think of *not* letting me have them? You cannot think how beautiful they are to me, nor how warmly I thank you for such a bright message of encouragement.

"If you have not seen my little 'Ministry of Song' (written before 'Under the Surface'), I should so like to send it you as a little exchange for your sweet verses; but if you have seen it, then I will send you 'My King' instead, when it is published.

"Will you not tell me your name? Believe me your loving and grateful English sister, F. R. H."

In a letter, written a month later, the warmth of personal feeling expressed in the first was followed by a mature and highly appreciative testimony to the merit of Miss Goreh's poems:—

"LEAMINGTON, *Dec. 29, 1876.*

"DEAR MISS GOREH,—I cannot refrain any longer from telling you what is on my mind, though I have more writing than I know how to get through. The more I think of you, the more strongly it seems im-

pressed upon me that there is a great 'open door' before you of special and unique usefulness, and that you only want a little push to make you enter it. A friend, on whose judgment I always rely, takes exactly the same view.

"I am not too much inclined to judge favourably of amateur verses. I get quantities sent to me by all sorts of aspirants to literary name or profit. 'Will I kindly give a candid opinion?' and so forth; and never but once has my 'candid opinion' been that the verses gave promise of real success, or showed real gift. Therefore, when I tell you that my 'candid opinion' of yours is that they do show that God has given you a real gift, which may be, and ought to be, used for His glory, you will see that I am not speaking lightly.

"Now, dear 'Indian sister,' I believe that if you will lay your gift at His feet, and let your verses go forth as no Englishwoman's work, but as that of a Brahmin who is now one with us in Christ, you will be giving help to the cause of Zenana Missions and Female Education in the East, which, so far as I know, none but yourself can give. It will be a testimony to many thousands of what His grace can do and has done. You will probably do more by the mere fact of becoming known as a writer to English Christian readers than if you gave £500 to Zenana Missions.....

"I do not want you to hurry; you must take pains and pray much; you must cultivate and

develop by study and patient practice the gift which is yours; but then, always letting Him, as it were, hold your pen, you may do great things for Him.

"I gather from one verse in your beautiful poem to me, and also from your reluctance to let your secret escape, that you have not written much yet. If these verses are indeed by an unpractised hand, they are wonderfully good. I want you to feel ever so glad and happy in the thought that Jesus has given you a special gift which you may use for Him, and which He may use for His glory and for the furtherance of the knowledge of His salvation among those who are sitting in darkness in your own land. I know it will be an effort to you (it was a very great one to me at first) to let your name go forth in public; but your name is His, and won't you let Jesus have the use of it?.....I will help you in any way I can. Yours lovingly, F. R. H."

"Not many mighty" are called; but now, like Dionysius the Areopagite and Damaris in the days of the Apostles, the Spirit of God permits us to record such cases as the Brahmans of our Christian colleges and the conversion of this Brahman philosopher, with his converts in turn, preachers, editors, scholars, and poets, sitting at the feet of Jesus. Is it not a pledge of the great future of the conversion of the peoples of India and Asia by their own sons and daughters? Especially, is it not a pledge that the hoary philos-

ophies * of the pantheistic East, which have so long enthralled millions, shall, like those of Greece and Rome, yield allegiance to the Holy Spirit of Wisdom?

* The Right Honourable Professor Max Müller, in his published sketches of his Indian friends, refers to his intercourse with Nilakantha when he visited England, and to his subsequent correspondence with the saintly philosopher. When the professor asked him how he came to give up the practice of Brahmanism and to accept Christ, he shook his head and said: "I can explain everything, I can explain why I rejected Shiva and Krishna and Allah, and tell you everything that kept me back so long from Christianity, as preached to us in India, and made me reject the New as well as the Old Testament as unsatisfactory to a thinking man. But why and how I became a Christian I cannot explain; I was caught as in a net, and I could not get away from Christ." Mr. Max Müller emphatically asserts that he had never seen so true a Christian, so true a martyr, as Nilakantha Goreh. Few Christians would have passed through such ordeals unscathed. And with all that, he was a philosopher. He knew what philosophy could say and had said on the possibility of revelation and of religion; and yet he was perfectly satisfied with Christianity in its simplest form, at that time, as an evangelical.

XII.

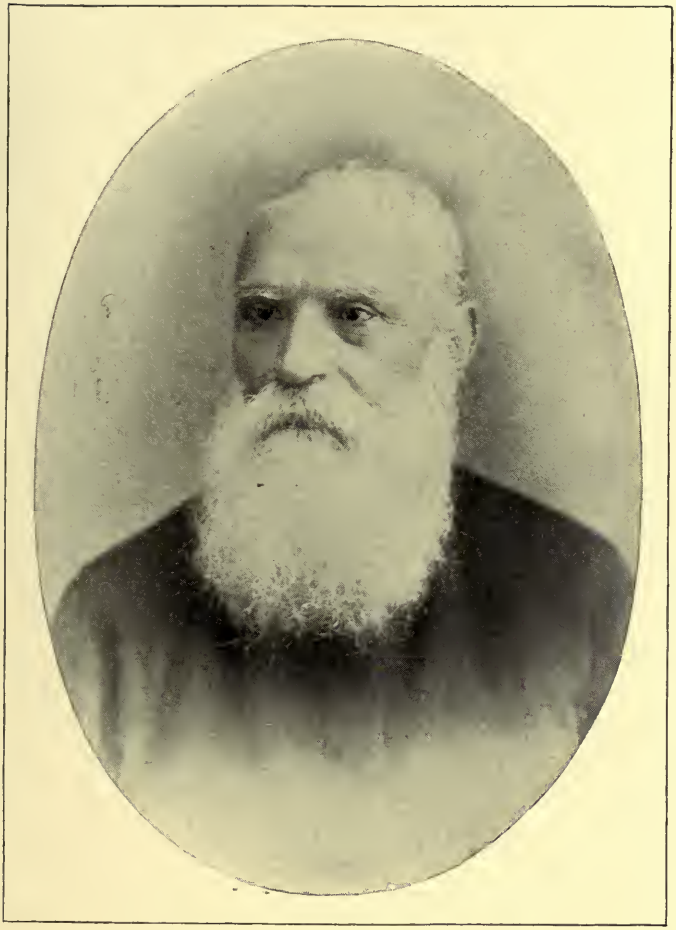
DHANJIBHAI NAUROJI.

(Born 1822.)

THE FIRST MODERN PARSI CONVERT AND APOSTLE.

PARSIS, or the Persian followers of Zoroaster, were the very first converts to Christianity.* The Wise Men from the East, led by His star, worshipped the young child Jesus when they saw him with Mary His mother, presenting unto Him gifts—gold, frankincense, and myrrh. So early as the forty-sixth year of the Christian era, and down through the persecutions under Decius and Diocletian, we find the names of noble Parsis in the Roman martyrology. The neighbouring Armenian Church extended the knowledge of Christ beyond the Oxus and over Persia, which had her representative in the Council of Nicæa in the year 325. Notwithstanding the interference of Constantine, Shahpur II., five years afterwards, began a series of persecutions of

* See Assemani, *Bibliothec. Orient.*, tom. iv.; also Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, lib. iv., cap. viii.; also *The Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.* (John Murray), especially chapter vii., on "Zand Scholarship and the Parsee Controversy."



DHANJIBHAI NAUROJI AT SEVENTY-SEVEN.

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the Christians, lest the Zoroastrian cult of the Magi should be altogether destroyed. Retribution came in the year 658, when the Mohammedan Khalifs extinguished the empire of Cyrus, and drove the fire-worshippers into the hills of Khorasan, and down to the caves of Ormuz. That proud empire, with its persecuting Zoroastrianism, is now represented by some ten thousand miserable Guebres in their ancestral seats. Those who fled to the Persian Gulf finally found an asylum in Goojarat, from a Hindu Rana. Nowsari, near Surat, became their head-quarters, down to the present day.

That was in the year 717, nearly twelve centuries ago. When the tolerant British power obtained influence in the seventeenth century, and the East India Company opened its first factory at Surat, the Parsis became most useful intermediaries between the English merchants and the native traders. When the good Kerridge was governor, he got the first chaplain, Henry Lord, to publish * in 1630 that rare and valuable little quarto volume, *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies, viz., the Sect of the Banians, the Ancient Natives of India, and the Sect of the Persees, the Ancient Inhabitants of Persia,* etc. As the island of Bombay gradually became the British capital of Western India, the Parsis of Goojarat moved south, and became the leading ship-builders and merchants. Now they number at least

* "London: Printed by T. and R. Cotes for Fra. Constable, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Crane, in Paul's Churchyard. 1630."

ninety thousand, of whom more than two-thirds reside in and around the great city.

In the eleven centuries from 717 to 1839 there is no record of the conversion of a Parsi or follower of Zoroaster to Christ, till John Wilson baptized into His name Dhanjibhai Nauroji in the Scottish mission-house in the city of Bombay. Then in his seventeenth year, afterwards ordained to the holy ministry in the Free Church of Scotland, in Canonmills Hall, Edinburgh, where he had completed his studies, Dhanjibhai still survives to witness for the Master, alike by his lips and his life. Since 1864, when I first met him in the old home of Dr. John Wilson on Malabar Hill, overlooking the loveliest scenes of sea and shore, hill and valley in Asia, Dhanjibhai Nauroji has been the saintliest of all Christians in Western India, and venerated by Parsi, Hindu, and Musalman alike. Through much tribulation the lad entered the Kingdom, as we shall see; his life and his labours have been prolonged to a beautiful old age.

Dhanjibhai was born in the village of Arow, near the great Goojarati city of Broach, north of Bombay, on the banks of the Nerbudda, twenty miles from the Arabian Sea. This is the autobiography which he has given me:—

"I, a servant of Jesus, by the grace of God, and a Parsi by birth, was born in Goojarat in 1822. At the age of nine I was brought to Bombay, and was placed under the care of an uncle. After receiving

some education in Goojarati, I was sent to a private English school. Subsequently I was led by Providence to attend a school shortly after it was opened by the late Dr. Wilson in 1835. I was in my thirteenth year at this time, but knew nothing about religion, save to mutter a few Parsi prayers, and observe some ceremonies on certain occasions. While I attended this school, a Parsi woman of a disreputable character was the means of creating in my mind the fear of a sin-punishing God after death. The raging of cholera in those days in Bombay, the sight of a picture in a sacred book of the Parsis of a sufferer in the place of torment, and a question that our schoolmaster wished us to put to ourselves on going to bed every night, which was, If we should die in sleep, where shall our eyes be opened: in heaven or hell? —these three circumstances happening about the same time successively put me in a fearful state of mind.

"My poor uncle became most anxious about the state of my health, which was giving way, and he tried to divert my mind by pressing me to attend places of amusement. I had no pleasure in such things, and did not care for them. I used to attend Dr. Wilson's lectures on the Parsi religion, along with other boys. These, and especially the daily Bible teaching of the late Mr. Nesbit in the school, had the blessed effect of letting in gradually the light of the truth into my mind. Dr. Wilson, Mr. Nesbit, and Mr. Johannes Essái,* a Christian teacher of the school

* An Armenian.

—these three, whose character and conduct made the deepest impression on my mind, were most helpful in bringing me to Christ. The doubt and distrust of the heart, the painful thought of separation from my relatives and others, and the fear of the opposition and persecution of the world, especially of the Parsi community, kept me for a time from making an open confession of the name of Christ. At last I was enabled to overcome all these dissuading fears, and on May 1, 1839, I was received into the Church of Christ by Dr. Wilson in the presence of a great congregation of Europeans and natives, especially Parsis. Four days after that, my friend, the late Rev. Hormusdji Pestonji, also a Parsi, was baptized by Dr. Wilson.

"We were the first two Parsis of modern times who renounced the ancient religion of their race, and embraced Christianity. It is impossible at this distance of time to describe the surprise and astonishment, the furor and frenzy that were excited among all classes of native society, not only in Bombay, but also in a large portion of the country. Our life was in danger, and for a time the police were obliged to protect us. There was a suit instituted against us, and on the last day we went to the Supreme Court, now called the High Court, to hear the judgment of the presiding judge.* Government was obliged to

* Chief Justice Sir John Awdry. The *Bombay Times*, as well as the secular press all over India, wrote fairly of the great and famous case. A writ of Habeas Corpus was issued to Dr. Wilson after Dhanjibhai's baptism. At the first hearing the Chief Justice "ordered that, in the

call out the whole of the police force, and a portion of the European garrison of Bombay, to preserve order in the city. The Parsis left no stone unturned to reclaim us. Failing in all their efforts, both lawful and unlawful, to gain their object, they at last resorted to getting up a petition against missionaries and their work. They succeeded in inducing the leading members of the Hindu and Mohammedan

meantime, Dhanjibhai should be at liberty to go where he chose; any attempt to interfere with his liberty would be punishable, not only by the ordinary process before a jury, but, if circumstances render it necessary, summarily, as a contempt of court. Dhanjibhai on this came forward, and, in the face of all that was powerful, wealthy, venerable, or dangerous among his own countrymen arrayed against him, the dignitaries of the Panchayat expressing a calm condemnation of his conduct, and a thousand other Parsis betraying scorn or hostility in their looks, he modestly and firmly declared his determination to remain with Dr. Wilson. The appearance of this youth is singularly interesting: a more ingenuous or happy countenance we have never seen; and while we fully appreciate and allow for the natural feelings of anger which his countrymen must feel at his renunciation of their ancient faith, and the still bitterer regrets which his relations must suffer from a step which, in their view, estranges for ever a once beloved youth from their society, we could not behold his conduct, in this trying crisis, without being strongly impressed with the moral elevation which distinguished his position."

"The final hearing of the case of the Parsi converts took place in open court. The addresses of counsel, and the reading of affidavits on both sides, amounting to nineteen or twenty, occupied from eleven to four o'clock, and judgment was pronounced by the Chief Justice at six. The court-house was, during the proceedings, crowded to suffocation by natives of all classes, amongst whom the Hindus and Mohammedans appeared to be more numerous than the Parsis. Some of the members of the Panchayat and other leading natives, not being able to find seats elsewhere, were, by orders of the Chief Justice, accommodated with chairs near the Bench. The conduct of all the natives present, from the commencement to the close of the proceedings, was marked by the greatest quietness and decorum; and, on the breaking up of the court, the two converts proceeded to the Scotch mission-house with Dr. Wilson, without any interruption being offered, to return thanks for a decision which secured to them the freedom of worshipping God according to their consciences."

communities to join them. The petition was sent to different authorities in India and England. Dr. Wilson sent in a masterly rejoinder to it. The reply they received from different quarters to what was called the Anti-conversion Petition, may be summed up in the words of the Bombay Government: 'The course of reason and of fair argument cannot be impeded.' After this, nothing remained for them but to preserve a sullen silence. The bitterness occasioned by the failure of all efforts in regard to us gradually wore away.

"In the beginning of 1843 Dr. Wilson left India for his first furlough to his native land, and he was pleased to take me with him. We left Bombay on the second day of January of that year in a Government steamer carrying the mails and passengers for Suez. After a short sojourn in Egypt, we visited several of the most historical and interesting countries of the world; and after a most pleasant journey of nine months we arrived in Scotland in the autumn. Scotland at that time was all in a state of ferment in consequence of a great ecclesiastical event, the Disruption of the National Church, which had taken place a few months before. The first meeting of the Free Church General Assembly was adjourned to take place at Glasgow in October, and we hastened on there to attend it. My sojourn in Scotland was for a little more than three years, during which time I attended the newly-opened Free Church College, and sat at the feet of Drs. Chalmers, Welsh, Cunning-

ham, and others. After my theological studies were over, I was licensed to preach the gospel, and was ordained by the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh at the close of 1846. The late Dr. Robert Candlish presided at my ordination in the Canonmills Hall before an immense congregation. Soon after this I left Scotland, with feelings it is impossible to describe. In the spring of 1847 I returned to my fatherland.

"Since that time, now fifty-two years ago, I have been labouring mainly at two stations, Surat and Bombay. To the former I went in the beginning of 1848, and laboured there for nine years, with the full sanction of the Irish Presbyterian brethren, who were there before me. It was my privilege at the very commencement of my missionary career to baptize, at the urgent request of these brethren, their first Parsi convert, who was the head-master of their English school. It was there that I found the partner of my life in a bright Christian family, who has proved a true, noble helpmeet to me. My work at Surat consisted of holding meetings in different parts of the city; touring in its neighbourhood, and sometimes in distant places; helping in the revision of the Goojarati Scriptures; editing a periodical in conjunction with one of the Irish missionaries; and in superintending the four schools I had opened, mainly for the children of the depressed classes. I do not know with what results all these labours were carried on; but from a list that lies before me, I find

that from among those who attended the schools forty-nine young men were received into the church. Of these twenty-six were baptized by me before leaving Surat, and the rest were baptized by the Irish missionaries after I left that city. Five years ago a census was taken of persons who embraced Christianity in connection with those schools, and it was seen that the first converts, and those who through their instrumentality found the truth, with their wives and children, numbered two hundred and sixty-six souls. At the end of 1856 I was obliged to leave Surat for Bombay, which I did with great reluctance. My work there was full of hope and encouragement, and ever since I have greatly regretted giving it up.

"Of my labours in the large city of Bombay for the last forty-one years I shall not speak much. They have been of a general and varied character, and it is difficult to give even an outline of them. Suffice it to say that, through the medium of the Institution, the Native Church, the lecture hall, the vernacular schools, the Press, and general intercourse with people of all classes, I have done what I could to promote the great object of my calling. From the beginning of 1873 I was stationed at Poona, to take charge of our Native Church there. I was at that station close on four years. Since my return to Bombay, my health being greatly weakened, I have not been able to do as much as I wished. I am now in my seventy-seventh year, and am still

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enabled to work a little in connection with the mission I love."

On July 6, 1897, the missionaries and native members of almost all the churches in Western India united in addresses and gifts to the Rev. Dhanjibhai Nauroji on his completing the fiftieth year of his Christian ministry. He deprecated "some flattering statements about me of which I am not worthy;" but accepted the evidences of the goodwill and generous feelings of his friends and countrymen. Looking back on the spiritual influence of Dr. John Wilson and Robert Nesbit, he thanked God that for sixty years he had been a part of the Bombay Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, and thus continued:—

"To it, under God, I owe everything. It has been blessed from its very commencement with a body of most enlightened, devoted men, whose labours are far-reaching, and are calculated to do much lasting good to the country. To those faithful servants of the Lord, both past and present, as also to the Scottish Committee, I am much indebted for their love, sympathy, and consideration. If I have accomplished any good, it is chiefly on account of the encouragement given me by them in various forms.

"The Native Church of the mission in Bombay city is very dear to me. I was born and brought up in it. I regard it as my mother church, and have always desired to do what I could to promote its interests. I earnestly wish that it and all the Indian churches throughout the land may become self-supporting and

self-propagating. This is their proper position, and till they have gained it, they will remain in their infantine and dependent state, which is far from being satisfactory. No doubt in the beginning of such a movement there will be for a while many struggles and trials both in these churches and the missions with which they are connected. But considering the nobleness of the object to be gained, the life and vigour it will infuse, the usefulness to which it will lead, and the self-respect it will engender, they ought to make every sacrifice in order to bring it about. In my humble opinion the mixed system of paying the stipends of the pastors is not only a source of much weakness, but it also greatly keeps back the development and progress of the Indian Christian community. It rests therefore with the missionary societies labouring in this country to take up this matter seriously, and come to a unanimous decision about it in the direction indicated.

"I stand before you as a monument of God's great goodness and mercy. My heart swells with devout gratitude to Him for the manifold blessings He has showered upon me during my earthly career. I can truly say that goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life. I am blessed with length of days, which have passed the ordinary limits of threescore and ten years assigned to man. More than this —I have enjoyed the privilege of being a member of the Christian Church for the last fifty-eight years. More still—I have been honoured to serve God in the

gospel of His Son for the last fifty years. In view of these inestimable blessings and privileges, I am profoundly touched with a sense of God's wonderful love to me, and I call upon my soul and all that is within me to praise the Lord, and bless His holy name.

"I am still a Parsi—a Parsi of the Parsis. With the exception of the matter which is of the highest importance to man, religious faith, I am one with my brethren according to the flesh. Whatever touches them touches me. Their joy and sorrow deeply move my heart. I have great love for them, and if need be, I shall be ready to lay down my life for them. I have never sought to be disassociated from them; and, be it said to their credit, they have not cast me off, except for a time soon after the events of May 1839, when I and my friend, the late Rev. Hormusdji Pestonji, were baptized. The bitter feeling that then arose amongst them against us has long since passed away. We are now great friends, shaking hands with each other warmly. Some of my best and dearest friends are among them. I am proud to belong to a race which for intelligence, enlightenment, energy, enterprise, benevolence, toleration, law-abiding spirit, and loyalty stands foremost among the races of the East. The love which I bear to them induces me earnestly to desire that in regard to higher matters they and I stood on the same platform—that we saw eye to eye, and felt heart to heart the great things God has revealed to us for our spiritual and eternal wellbeing. I am confident that such a time is coming,

and though I may not live to see its advent, yet I greatly rejoice in the anticipation of it.

"I am, as far as I know, the first Indian Christian who was ordained to the missionary work; and certainly I am the first who has been permitted to witness the jubilee celebration of his ordination. Fifty years form a long period to look back to. It sets agoing many memories—many changes. The fathers and friends of the earlier days of my Christian life and career, whom I knew well and loved much, where are they? Where are the Wilsons, Nesbits, Mitchells, Robertsons, Valentines, Humes, Allans, and others of the first missionaries; and the Webbs, Lechmeres, Grahams, Davidsons, Jamesons, and others of the first Christian laymen I knew? With the exception of three or four, they have all passed away, and are now in the world of glory.

"Looking at the general state of India, I have lived to see vast and varied material, intellectual, social, and moral changes in the last fifty years. They are the product of the many educating agencies that are now at work among us, such as the introduction of the steam-power, electric telegraph, cheap and uniform postage, municipal institutions, schools, colleges, and universities for higher education, the expansion and the growing power and influence of the Press, and improved legislation. These and many other things which did not exist half a century ago have greatly altered the state of the country. It may be said that the India of the nineties is not the India of the forties.

No doubt great credit is due to our wise and benevolent Government for this improved state of the country. It must not, however, be forgotten that, with the exception of the material changes, most of the other class were brought about by the enlightened zeal and unwearied efforts of the missionary body. In fact, the members of this body were the pioneers and originators of these changes. This is acknowledged on all hands both by natives and Europeans. Some of our rulers, and among them the late Lord Lawrence, than whom no one knew India better, have said that the missionary agency has done more for India than all the agencies put together.

"The immense progress Christianity has made in the last fifty years in this country is a noteworthy fact. Its agents, their labours, and the fruit of their labours, have all been multiplied sevenfold. Fifty years ago there were hardly two hundred missionaries in India. Now their number is close on three thousand, and it is increasing almost every month. Fifty years ago there were no Medical or Zanana Missions. Now they form integral parts of the missionary enterprise. Fifty years ago there were no native helpers. Now there is a large body of them of both sexes. Fifty years ago the mission stations were planted only at the Presidency towns, and a few great centres. Now they are to be found in many of the cities, towns, and even villages. Fifty years ago the Scriptures were translated, and that too very indifferently, into a few principal vernaculars. Now they are to be

found in almost all the dialects of India. Fifty years ago there hardly existed any Christian vernacular literature. Now there is a vast body of it. Fifty years ago the Indian Christian community numbered some thousand souls. Now its membership amounts to nearly eight hundred thousand, drawn from every grade of Indian society. These few facts clearly demonstrate the power and efficacy of Christianity, and should lead those interested in its progress to thank God and take courage. Let me now ask a question. If the last fifty years have produced such changes, who can tell what the next fifty years will achieve? If things go on as they have been doing hitherto, the India of 1950 will be a very different country from the India of the present day. Idolatry, superstition, many forms of error and delusion, many of the cruel, barbarous, wicked customs and practices, will hide their ugly faces; and truth, righteousness, and peace will to a great extent prevail in the land.

"We are met to celebrate the jubilee of my ordination. I feel very thankful that I am preserved to see this day. It sets before my mind the loving-kindness and tender compassion of God, and also the love and sympathy of kind friends. My ordination did not take place in this city, nor in any part of India. It took place in distant Scotland. Considering the circumstances of those early days, when travelling to a foreign country was by no means an easy undertaking, and considering that I was then a poor penniless youth, some friends may wonder how I managed to

find my way to that far-off land.* When Dr. Wilson, my revered father and friend, went on his first furlough to his native country, he was pleased to take me with him. On January 2, 1843, we got on board a Government steamer carrying mails and passengers to Suez. The overland route had just been opened, and there were then no boats of any private company plying between that port and this. The voyage, which was on the whole a pleasant one, took us three weeks, nearly double the length of time it takes now. During a journey that extended to nine months, we visited some of the most historical and interesting countries of the world—Egypt, the land of the Pharaohs; the Peninsula of Mount Sinai; Arabia Petraea or the Edom of Scripture; Palestine, which we traversed twice, by two different routes; Damascus, the capital of Syria, surrounded by lovely gardens; the famous ruins of Baalbek, certainly the most wonderful remains of the ancient world. Crossing the goodly Mount Lebanon with its hoary cedars, we arrived at Beirut, a port of Syria. Here we got on board a steamer and sailed by Cyprus; the island of Rhodes, which contained at one time one of the seven wonders of the world; a part of the coast of Asia Minor; among the charming islands of the Ægean Sea; had a sight of the rock Patmos, to which John the Evangelist was banished. Passing the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora, we came in sight of Constantinople, a most imposing and beautiful city to look at from the Golden

* See *Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.*, chapter xi.

Horn. Leaving Constantinople, after a sojourn of a fortnight in it, we entered the Black Sea, very appropriately called by the name it bears, for we suffered not a little while sailing on its dark and rough waters. Arriving at the principal mouth of the Danube, we sailed up the whole of this noble river to Vienna. This gave us an opportunity of having a bird's-eye view of the Danubian Principalities and other interesting countries.

"At Budapest, the capital of Hungary, we broke our journey. Here was a newly-founded mission of our Church, and Dr. Wilson was anxious to see how it was working. We made a long stay in this place. While there we were invited one day to the palace. The Princess Palatine received us. She was a connection of our gracious Queen-Empress. The whole of her family were also present. The Prince Palatine, who was an uncle of the present Emperor of Austria, was at Presburg, presiding at the Hungarian Diet. Him also we saw at that place. I cannot speak too highly of these two royal personages and their family. The princess appeared to be a thorough Christian lady. Her eldest daughter became afterwards the Queen of the Belgians. When we were leaving Budapest, the mission there asked Dr. Wilson to take charge of three Jewish converts, and to hand them over to the Jewish Mission Committee in Edinburgh. Of these three Jewish brethren two were young men, Messrs. Edersheim and Tomory, both of whom became distinguished. The third was a very bright-faced and exceedingly charming lad in

his teens. This lad afterwards became a celebrated Christian minister and author in London. I allude to the late lamented Dr. Adolph Saphir.

"From Vienna we visited a number of the celebrated cities of the Continent, at one of which, Augsburg, the dreaming and transcendental Germans transformed and elevated me as 'His Highness Dhanjibhai Nauroji, a prince of India, and Dr. John Wilson, his secretary.' For this false honour we had to pay very dearly. Arriving at Antwerp we took a steamer to London. This is how I found my way to distant Scotland fifty-four years ago. I left it with a heavy heart. Never did I feel myself so tried as I was when bidding farewell for good to that country. A nobler country, and a nobler people, so independent, clear-headed, kind-hearted, and swayed more by principle than by emotion, I have not seen. It owes very much to its religious teaching, and so long as it sticks, next to the Bible, to its Shorter Catechism, it will maintain this character. In the spring of 1847 I returned to my fatherland, and have ever since continued to labour in it for the Lord.

"Let me say most emphatically that the work I have been so long engaged in I have found to be most noble, elevating, and God-glorifying. So long as any strength remains in me, I shall not cease to do it. I am ready even now to preach the gospel to all everywhere. I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, referring to the first day of May 1839, Dhanjibhai Nauroji writes:—"Sixty years it is now since I confessed publicly the name of our blessed Jesus in the Ambrolie House hall before a large and excited audience. I remember well that you sat next to me on that memorable occasion, and when I returned to my seat after I read my statement, and laid down the Parsi sacred girdle on a table before the pulpit, you pressed my hand very warmly in token of your joy and gratification. Ah! there were other friends who did the same after you. They are now in the world of glory, watching with deep interest us who are left behind, and waiting to receive us with acclamation of the Redeemer's praise when our time shall come to be with them in that world. You are the only one left to whom I can speak of those days, and on whose sympathy I can depend. How much I wish that Dr. Wilson and Mr. Nesbit were also alive, to join with me in praise and thanksgiving to our Father in heaven for His grace in bringing me out of darkness into His marvellous light. To you three, next to the Lord, I, my two sainted brothers Hormazdji and Narayan, and many others, living and dead, owe a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid. Nor can I in this connection forget to say that we are most grateful to the Church through whose agency we are plucked as brands from the burning. God bless her more and more for her work of faith, labours of love, and patience of hope. She has made great sacrifices of

men and money; but oh! her reward will be of untold value. The many who are already in glory, and the many more who in their earthly tabernacle are exulting in the hope of glory, all through her instrumentality, will stand up before the throne of God and of the Lamb as witnesses of her faith, and love, and zeal, which will be to her praise, and honour, and glory throughout eternity.

"But the success of our mission is not to be reckoned by the comparatively few conversions that have taken place in connection with it. No. Hundreds have been brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus though they failed to make a public profession of it. I could give the names of many. I believe that among those who shall stand at the right hand of the Judge on the last day will be not a few of the scholars and students of our Institution and college. Let us therefore thank God and take courage—yes, thank Him for leading your Church to adopt, from the very commencement of its missionary enterprise, the diffusion of intellectual as well as moral light to meet the great wants of man. This is what should be, and is sure in the long-run to raise a rich harvest to the praise of His glory.

"On Monday, May 1, 1899, we had a good gathering of Christian friends, both European and native, to commemorate the event of May 1, 1839. Dear Mr. Baba Padmanji was, to my great joy, present, as also Mr. D. Malhar. Both these friends spoke very appropriately. I have now one great desire which I

should like much to see realized before I pass away from this world: it is to visit all the native churches of Goojarat and the Deccan. I have long been wishing to do so, and the Lord may yet open up my way to get this accomplished."

Epilogue.

W. E. GLADSTONE AND MISSIONARIES.

THE attitude of Mr. Gladstone towards the foreign missionary enterprise of the nineteenth century has not hitherto been remarked in the many estimates of his public life and personal character. Yet, during a period of at least sixty years, he did not cease to care for the dark and the depressed peoples who form the majority of the human race. Alike as a statesman responsible for the British Empire, which is in trust for a third of the non-Christians of mankind, and as a man who early submitted himself to the easy yoke of the Christ, Mr. Gladstone, by speech and by pen, was an earnest and a wise advocate of foreign missions. Foremost among the heroes for whom he expressed admiration and sometimes envy were Selwyn and Patteson, Carey and Marshman, Duff, Livingstone, and Moffat. He was catholic in his sympathies, while ever loyal to the Church of England, and to that school in the church with which his Oxford training identified him. His interests in missions to the heathen, the Mohammedans, and the Parsis was not only a part of that large-heartedness

which led him to denounce the Bourbon (Naples), Bulgarian, and Armenian atrocities, and to bring about the united Italy and the enlarged Greece of the present day; he helped foreign missions because he was intensely loyal to Jesus Christ. Only the influence of Sir John Gladstone kept him, possibly, from himself becoming a missionary when, as a youth, "he pressed his father hard to allow him to become a clergyman."

The State in its Relations with the Church, which he published in the year 1838, describing himself as "student of Christ Church and M.P. for Newark," reveals the root of his whole spiritual life. Fresh from the study of Augustine's great missionary apology, *De Civitate Dei*, and of Dante's *Paradiso*, the young statesman there pictures "the fulness of time" in passages of chastened eloquence, ending in these words:—

"Now the mercies of the Covenant are made for every one, are offered to and enjoined on every one: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.'.....Let us then keep steadily in view this universality, or universal applicability of the Christian dispensation as opposed to the limited applicability of the Jewish."

Twenty-seven years afterwards, in his farewell address, as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, on the place of ancient Greece in the providential order of the world, the then experienced orator spoke thus to its students:—

"But if the highest of all conditions in the exist-

ence of the creature be his aspect towards the God to whom he owes his being and in whose great hand he stands, then let us make our search elsewhere. All the wonders of the Greek civilization heaped together are less wonderful than is the single book of Psalms."

It was in the year 1859 that Mr. Gladstone appeared on a missionary platform, and seconded a resolution in favour of the Universities Mission to Central Africa. The scene was the beautiful Senate House of Cambridge. The speaker was the most distinguished son of Oxford, clothed in "the vestment" of the honorary degree which had just been conferred upon him. The subject was David Livingstone. After urging on his unique audience the three special modes in which we can contribute to the extension of the gospel—funds, prayers, personal sacrifices—each rising above the other in importance, he exclaimed:—

"Dr. Livingstone is an example of a man who raises our idea of the age in which we live. That simplicity inseparable from all true grandeur, that breadth and force, that superiority to all worldly calls and enjoyments, that rapid and keen intelligence, that power of governing men, and that delight in governing them for their own good—in all this we have evidence of the great man. And the qualities of the man are the very qualities which commend themselves with resistless power to the young by whom we see this building crowded. For when I stand in this noble structure on this occasion I cannot stay for a moment

to admire its magnificent proportions. It is not the temple that sanctifies the gold, it is not the Senate House of Cambridge, beautiful as the fabric is in itself, but it is the minds and hearts of those by whom it is filled that are deserving of attention. Let us render to Dr. Livingstone the full tribute which is due to him. Dr. Livingstone is a Christian; Dr. Livingstone is a missionary; Dr. Livingstone is a great traveller; but Dr. Livingstone has also earned that great name which the admiration of all ages has consecrated—Dr. Livingstone is a hero. A great living poet, the great poet of this age, Alfred Tennyson, in a work which has taken its place in the deathless literature of the world—I mean his last work—has carried us back to the period of heroic deeds, of heroic characters; but if the power which he possesses could have gone beyond what it has effected, could have gone beyond the almost living representation of those characters, and could actually have evoked them from the tomb, there is not one among those who have been represented in song who, if thus raised from the dead and permitted to walk among us, would not be ready to recognize as a brother the great traveller, Dr. Livingstone, and to acknowledge him amongst his worthiest companions."

Mr. Gladstone's peroration on that occasion was a simple and solemn appeal to every man's mind and conscience to make honest efforts to support Christian Missions, which he closed by commending to the favour and protection of Almighty God.

Mr. Gladstone's perfect missionary speech was followed, in October 1874, by a model missionary article in the *Quarterly Review* on Miss Yonge's *Life of John Coleridge Patteson, Bishop of the Melanesian Islands.* The freedom given by the anonymous allowed him to satirize much of the missionary literature which prevailed even at that time, so far as it was purely professional and insincere. But I am glad that he acknowledged the article five years afterwards by publishing it in the second volume of his *Gleanings of Past Years.* The career of Bishop Patteson, martyred in 1871, at Nukapu, an islet of the Santa Cruz group, appealed to Mr. Gladstone on many sides. The martyr was the son of his personal friends; he was trained at Eton and Oxford; he was called to his work by his predecessor, the first Bishop Selwyn; he was an Anglican, but not a sacerdotalist or ritualist; he rejoiced in the freedom from State control of the Colonial Church, and condoled with the Church of England in its "powerlessness" to deal with such difficulties as were then and are still presented by ritualism. Above all, Patteson was a missionary of the apostolic school even to the death. "It had been Selwyn's happy lot," wrote Mr. Gladstone, "to lift the standard of self-sacrifice to a more conspicuous elevation than it had hitherto reached in England. But I feel confident that even a Selwyn claims and can claim no higher honour than to have had a Patteson for his pupil."

In New Zealand, then at Mota, then in Norfolk Island, when training the best of the cannibal converts to be the clergy of the native church, Patteson performed the double operation which, according to Mr. Gladstone, has now come into the place of the single one confided to the apostles—that is to say, the conversion of savages into civilized men, and at the same time, in the same persons, of heathens into Christians. For "the school is the real work," alike in the untutored darkness of Oceania and Africa, and in the effete civilization of the lands of Brahmanism and Islam. Patteson's catholicity is no less lauded by Mr. Gladstone. The Anglican set up no rival missions; like Selwyn, who helped and was helped by the Scottish and Canadian Presbyterians, he was ever considerate in questions arising out of the divisions of sect. In black coat and white tie he exchanged services with the Wesleyan, Congregationalist, and Presbyterians in the islands around his own, using extemporary prayer, though employing freely the language of the Common Prayer-book. Mr. Gladstone's admiration of his hero, as an English Churchman who believed not less firmly that the English Reformation was a reform and an honest recurrence to the principles and the practice of the Primitive Church, and as a bishop who condemned Keble's decided tendency to materialism in the idea of a localized presence as taught by high Eucharistical doctrine, may be commended to all ecclesiastical parties.

In Patteson, his life and death, Mr. Gladstone re-

cognized "one of the few lives, in our time, ascending up to the ideal. In him were singularly combined the spirit of chivalry, the glorious ornament of a bygone time; the spirit of charity, rare in every age; and the spirit of reverence, which the favourite children of this generation appear to have combined to ban." His life vividly reminded the great statesman of "St. Paul, the prince and model of all missionary labourers; the apostolic pattern is not even now without its imitators, and the copy in this case well and truly recalls the original.....The three highest titles that can be given to a man are those of martyr, hero, and saint; which of the three is there that in substance it would be irrational to attach to the name of John Coleridge Patteson?"

On the appearance of the first volume of *The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.*, in May 1879, when Mr. Gladstone was enjoying freedom from the cares of office, and even of party, he met with the Indian friends of the great Scottish missionary in the Westminster Palace Hotel, and addressed them on his career, when proposing after dinner, "The memory of Dr. Duff." Speaking avowedly as a Churchman, declaring that in the present state of the Christian world we should not exaggerate things of secondary importance as if they were primary, nor, on the other hand, be ashamed of the colours of the particular regiment in which we serve, he bore testimony to the noble character and the noble work of the Presbyterian missionary, as he

had done in the case of the Anglican and the Independent:—

"Providential guidance and an admonition from within—something irrepressible, something mysterious and invisible—prompted and guided this remarkable man to the scene of his labours. Upon that scene he stands in competition, I rejoice to think, with many admirable, holy, saintly men, almost contemporaries of ours—contemporaries, many of them, of myself. From the bosom of the Church of England there went forth men like Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson, bearing upon their labours a very heroic and apostolic stamp. But I rejoice not less unfeignedly to recollect that they have competitors and rivals in that noble race of the Christian warfare, among whom Dr. Duff is one of the most eminent. Among many such rivals we might name Carey and Marshman, we might name Dr. Moffat.....Alexander Duff is one of the noble army of the confessors of Christ. Let no one envy them the crown which they have earned; let every man, on the contrary, knowing that they now stand in the presence and in the judgment of Him before whom we must all appear, rejoice that they have fought a good fight, that they have run their race manfully and nobly, and that they have laboured for the glory of God and the good of man."

To the speaker, who now lies in Westminster Abbey, may we not apply his own words, and say, "De te narratur"?

To some, especially to the educated Hindus, Moham-

medans, and Parsis of our Indian Empire, Gladstone was himself, sometimes, a missionary. The reforming editor of the *Indian Spectator*, a Zoroastrian, consulted him in 1889 as to the existence of evil in relation to the power and goodness of God, and as to the doctrine of vicarious atonement. The venerable statesman's reply, printed by his permission, is very much Butler's, on whose works he was then engaged. With agnosticism, as such, he declared he had no sympathy; it gives us nothing, and it takes away a great deal; it creates greater difficulties than those at which it takes fright. But with the Zoroastrian's feeling after God in Christ he dealt thus tenderly at the close of his more philosophical answer:—

"I am concerned to learn from you that, among Indians, the sense of responsibility is widely on the decline. If this be so, what can improve, or what that improves can be appreciably worth having? There is, I think, in Christian communities at the present time something painfully analogous to your allegation—namely, a decline in the sense of sin, which, instead of being, as under the Christian system it ought to be, piercing and profound, is passing with very many into a shallow, feeble, and vague abstraction, and which does not hold the place in religious teaching, so far as my observation goes, to which it is entitled. I do not know whether you have paid much attention to this part of the Christian system; but I daresay you may be aware that our Saviour in the Gospel of St. John predicts the giving of the Holy

Spirit, as the instrument for establishing His doctrine, and says that the Holy Spirit, when He is come, shall convince the world *of sin*, of righteousness, and of judgment, thus succinctly setting out what may be termed a code of moral regeneration for mankind, and setting the great fact of sin, often in Christian theology termed 'the fall,' at the threshold.

"You will see that I sympathize much with your aspirations after an ending for the evil that is amongst and in us, and feel that this is a kind of half-refuge to which the speculative mind naturally has recourse."

I recall and still have notes of more than one conversation with which Mr. Gladstone honoured me, and I value his occasional letters on political as well as missionary subjects. But I find this feature of the character of the greatest of Christian statesmen thus best summed up in the eulogy delivered by Professor G. A. Smith in the (Free) High Church of Edinburgh at the hour of his burial in the Abbey:—

"The praise of him has been like the sea. It has risen round the whole world, and broken upon every coast. Like sunshine upon the waters, so has the love been that has mingled with the praise—love rising from those he led, love rising from those he helped to free, love rising from every nation in the world that had been oppressed.....Think of the company among whom he has been gathered—his contemporaries and his friends, his friend Alfred Tennyson—

'Who set the lamp of duty in the midst,
Who smote the beast in man with iron rod,
And sang two generations back to Christ.'

Think of Browning, and David Livingstone, and John Lawrence, and James Outram, and many another Christian soldier and hero all round the borders of our empire, who carried not merely our civilization, but our religion and the faith of Jesus Christ, and kept it unstained on the high places of the world."

What cheered Mr. Gladstone most of all during his last trying months was "the report that his granddaughter, a bright, *spirituelle* young maiden of twenty, had decided to dedicate herself to the work of a Christian missionary to the heathen who sit in darkness. The dying statesman thrilled with joy at the thought that his granddaughter had chosen the better part. To his illumined eye nothing in this world was worth talking of or living for save the great commission to preach Christ and Him crucified as the living witness of the love of God for man. There is nothing better than that, nothing indeed to be compared to it. Again and again would he revert to it, but always with complacent, triumphant joy." *

When sent forth by their brother Etonians, represented by Lord Rosebery and Mr. Arthur Balfour, M.P., Lord Curzon (then Viceroy-designate) and Dr. Welldon (then Metropolitan-designate of India) publicly acknowledged the inscrutable decrees of Providence, which have placed the work of unselfishly governing India

* Mr. Stead, in the *Review of Reviews*.

upon the shoulders of the British race. Lord Curzon described the patriotic Imperialism of the new time as exalted but not arrogant, fearless but not rash, and as becoming more and more the faith of the nation. Mr. Gladstone ever recognized the true basis and justification of that Imperialism to be Missionary Christianity, active, zealous, and self-sacrificing, but tolerant and sympathetic. In this, as in so much else, he is an example to the wealthy and the governing classes of the British Empire, who must no longer stand aloof from the missionary enterprise as it enters on another century. The salt of our Empire is Foreign Missions.

SIR WILLIAM MUIR AND ROBERT W. BARBOUR ON ALEXANDER DUFF.

When presiding, on September 21, 1889, at the unveiling of the Alexander Duff Memorial at Moulin,*

* Among those present were—Lady and Miss Muir; Sir John Kennaway, Bart., M.P.; Sir Francis Outram, Bart.; Mr. Abel Smith, M.P.; Mr. E. A. Stuart Gray of Kinfauns; Major-General J. Michael, C.S.I., late of Bombay; Mr. Daniel Ainslie of The Gart, Callander; Captain Stewart of Balnakeilly; the Rev. R. W. Barbour of Bonskeid; Mr. Mitchell Thomson of Milton Lodge; Mr. T. Renny of Dundarroch; Mr. W. A. Atkinson of Knockfarrie; the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell; Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Arbuthnot, Edradour; Mr. Robertson of Dunfallandy; Mr. W. Maxwell of Donavourd; Dr. Anderson, C.B.; Dr. George Smith, C.I.E.; Dr. Burgess, C.I.E.; Mr. James Cunningham, Dundee; Dr. W. S. Irvine, Craigaten; Mr. W. Horne, Leck Lodge; Mr. H. Mitchell, solicitor; Mr. A. Macbeth, banker; Mr. S. Bennet, Mr. G. Stuart, Mr. J. T. Maclagan, Leith; Mr. Mathewson, Mr. R. Young, Free Church Offices; Mr. R. Ferguson, Dr. R. W. Irvine, Dr. M'Callum, Mr. H. C. Stuart of Strathgarrie; the Rev. Dr. Whyte, Free St. George's,

Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., the Principal of the University of Edinburgh, after he had been Lieutenant-Governor and Member of Council of the Governor-General of India, said that the words which had just fallen from Dr. Whyte in prayer expressed most touchingly the feelings which ought to be in their hearts. Personally, he could not tell what pleasure and honour he felt at the inauguration of that monument to Dr. Duff. They had met to perpetuate the memory of a great and good man

Edinburgh; the Rev. D. Macalister Donald, Moulin; the Rev. A. Bain, Blair Atholl; the Rev. J. H. Morrison, Kirkmichael; the Rev. A. Meldrum, Logierait; the Rev. Mr. Gordon, Lethendy; the Rev. G. C. Baxter, Cargill; the Rev. J. A. Robertson, the Rev. J. Fraser, Blair Atholl; the Rev. J. M'Rae, Aberfeldy; the Rev. R. S. Fleming, Mr. Donald Fisher, Mr. A. Conacher, the Rev. Mr. Keith, Clunie. The 100th Psalm having been sung, prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Whyte. Dr. Smith stated that apologies for absence had been sent by the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Polwarth, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Sir Henry Yule, K.C.S.I.; Sir John M'Queen, K.C.S.I.; Sir Frederick Halliday, K.C.B.; Sir Charles U. Aitchison, K.C.S.I.; Sir William Mackinnon, Bart.; Sir Douglas Maclagan, Sir Richard Temple, Bart.; Generals Brownlow, Touch, and Maclagan, R.E., and others.

The following letter from the Dowager-Countess of Aberdeen was read:—

"Alva House, *September 6, 1889.*

"Dear Dr. Smith,—I regret that I shall be unable to be present on Saturday, the twenty-first, at the unveiling of the Celtic cross erected to the memory of Dr. Duff, for whom I felt not only the admiration which he received from all who knew him, but a warm personal affection. His wonderful sympathy and tenderness towards those in sorrow, and his eager, glowing enthusiasm and eloquence when he turned to the subject of missions to the heathen, formed a very rare combination, which soon won the hearts of all my family; and it was his influence which first inspired my son James with the desire to devote himself to the cause of Christ in Africa. It was not the will of God that he should carry out this purpose, but as a tribute to his memory a mission which, as you know, is now doing good work in that region was founded—namely, the Gordon Memorial Mission, which I always regard as owing its origin to Dr. Duff. I must again repeat how sorry I am that I shall not be able to show my respect for his revered memory by being present at the uncovering of the cross near Moulin.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

"M. Aberdeen."

in connection with the place of his birth. They wanted the memorial to be a sort of finger-post on the highway, pointing the youth of the neighbourhood onwards and upwards in the path of life to great results such as Dr. Duff was the means, under God, of bringing about in India. He gave there not only intellectual light and life, but also sowed the seeds of a grand evangelization. Sentiment was largely engrained in the human mind. As a Scotsman could not pass Bannockburn without feeling his heart lifted up with a glowing national sentiment, so when Dr. Duff's birthplace was first pointed out to him a sentiment arose in his heart of blessing to God, a sentiment of reverence, and a touching feeling of gratitude. The house in which Dr. Duff was born was a humble cottage at Auchnahyle, about a quarter of a mile from where they were assembled; but, as Seneca said, a great man might come out of a humble cottage. When he (Sir William) first saw the spot where Dr. Duff drew breath, his school at Moulin and afterwards at Kirkmichael, his heart rose in gratitude to God. The district was full of memories of Dr. Duff. In a local guide-book it was said that lovers of missions would no doubt pay a pilgrimage of devotion and love to the spot where Dr. Duff was born. Though that guide-book no longer existed, he trusted that that monument would long remain to point the place of Dr. Duff's birth. The idea of such a memorial first occurred to him some five years ago, when he was asked to unveil

a monument of the great Moffat at his birthplace near Edinburgh. Subscriptions had been received from every church in every part of the country, and it was very gratifying to see the interest which had been manifested by lovers of missions in having Dr. Duff's memory perpetuated.

In 1829 Dr. Duff was selected by the Church of Scotland as its first Indian missionary. The object was to create a native ministry. There was difference of opinion as to whether education in India should be by English or the native languages. Dr. Duff, with far-seeing view as to the effect it would have on the populations of India, determined that the education should be in English, and amid much opposition he established in Calcutta the Institution from which the intellect of India has sprung. In a year the results of this far-seeing policy of his were seen. He gathered together a large assembly, including natives of high rank, Government officials, chaplains, and missionaries, and the whole population of Calcutta was astonished at the results. Five years later, when obliged to leave the country, Lord William Bentinck spoke of the unparalleled success attained by Dr. Duff in his school for raising the character of the Indian population. India had been illuminated as by the electric light, the whole people had been raised, and those marvellous results which they saw to-day were mainly due, in the first instance, to the great work which Dr. Duff set on foot. From the enthusiasm of his character — the enthusiasm of

humanity—he had been led to sow those seeds which resulted in such unparalleled results in the intellectual advancement of India, and the growth of many admirable specimens of the Christian character.

In 1834 Dr. Duff was obliged to come home on account of ill health, and he electrified the country by the marvellous speeches in which he brought forward the claims of India and the missionary cause. While passing through Calcutta in 1846, he and Lady Muir breakfasted with Dr. Duff, and afterwards visited the college. It was a sight to see the doctor in his theatre wielding at will that vast assemblage of natives, bringing out their sentiments not only in intellectual but in spiritual matters. Sir William afterwards quoted native testimony in regard to the value of Dr. Duff's work in India. One newspaper said that had it not been for him India would to-day have been many years backward. It was through Dr. Duff that education became so popular in the country. He was a power of no mean order in the land; his great moral influence counteracted the growing tendency of atheism and immorality among the rising young men of his time. It was he who brought the influence of Christianity to the higher classes of natives. After referring to Dr. Duff's final departure from India in 1864, and to the addresses which then poured in on him, Sir William concluded by asking the inhabitants of Moulin and Pitlochry to cherish the memory of this great man, and hand it down as a precious legacy to their children.

The medallion on the cross, containing an expressive bronze relief of Dr. Duff's features, was then unveiled amid cheers.

Sir FRANCIS OUTRAM, Bart., on behalf of the inhabitants of Moulin, said that they received the memorial with gratitude. He trusted that it might not only be an object of pride to them and an object of suggestive interest to their visitors, but that it would be the means of stirring up every man and woman in Atholl to greater interest in missions. He trusted that they would have many more such typical Celtic missionaries. The Celtic cross was most appropriate, for it carried their minds back to those with whom it was inseparably associated—those early Celtic missionaries to whom they were indebted for the first dawn of gospel light. Dr. Duff's large, noble, and comprehensive heart would have rejoiced in the fresh wave of missionary zeal, earnestness, and success that they had been privileged to witness since he had been taken from amongst them.

Sir JOHN H. KENNAWAY, Bart., M.P., said that as a member of the Church of England, and as representing the greatest Missionary Society of that church, he rejoiced to be present to take part in paying a tribute to the memory of no common man. He rejoiced to think that the memorial was placed where it would not only serve to revive a personal recollection of Dr. Duff, but that it would, as a beacon fire, serve to stimulate the missionary spirit of all who passed and re-passed the great Highland road,

and also have a wider effect still in stirring up throughout the country the feeling that the spiritual sympathies of Scotland should not be confined behind the craggy ramparts of the Grampians. Dr. Duff made one phase of missionary work peculiarly his own—namely, the application and subordination of intellectual culture and social advance to spiritual work by bringing home, through those means, to the educated class of Hindus the power and the knowledge of the gospel of Christ. Shortly after he began his work, the Government took up the question of higher education, but wrought on different lines. They thought it possible to give higher education without allusion to the revelation which God had given to men, and without any mention of the divine Being. After a trial of fifty years, it was admitted that the result had been that the old faith of the Hindus had been destroyed, and that they had been left with nothing to take its place. India was passing through a great crisis. At present there was a great opportunity which might not recur, and the Church Missionary Society, realizing that, had made it a special part of their policy during the past year to encourage higher education in Christian colleges. He hoped that the record of that day's proceedings and the memory of what Dr. Duff had done would stir up Christians in Scotland to take the same line, and to supplement the work which the Government practically admitted ought to be done. Sir John spoke of the heartiness with which Dr. Duff encouraged missionaries of the

Church Society. They rejoiced to know that in the forefront of the battle, where the missionaries were fighting against the mass of infidelity and heathenism, differences which seemed to be very great at home shrank into nothingness when compared with the great principles which united them all.

Dr. GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., after reading a letter of apology for absence from the Rev. Mathura Nath Bose, B.A., B.L., an Indian convert, said that he was honoured with Dr. Duff's friendship during the whole of his (the speaker's) Indian career. Just sixty years had passed that very week since Alexander Duff, a young, strapping Highlander, bade farewell to his native hills, amid the beauty and healthiness of which they delighted now to linger year after year. Sir William had referred with extreme accuracy to the facts connected with Dr. Duff's birth. He was moved at a very early age from the farm of Auchnahyle to the cottage immediately behind Balnakeilly House, where he spent his boyhood. Thereafter he went to school in Kirkmichael, where, in a few months, the Free Church of Scotland would open another memorial to his memory in the shape of a new church bearing his name. Two points came out before his mind that day as he gazed upon that medallion, made with wonderful artistic skill by Mr. Beattie, and the appropriate Celtic cross, designed and carried out by one of their own people, Mr. Fergusson, who knew Dr. Duff, and who had raised himself in Aberdeen till he was the head of the great firm which had given them that

noble cross. The first point was the wonderful devotion of Scotland—and, to a large extent, through Scotland, of other countries—to the foreign mission enterprise during those sixty years; and the second point was the marvellous development of the British Indian Empire. When Dr. Duff went out to India first of all, it was as the result of an appeal to the whole people of Scotland issued in the most solemn manner by successive General Assemblies. What was the result of that appeal to the people of Scotland? In five years they raised £1,500; and when Dr. Duff went out, giving up his church prospects, he received £300 a year with the promise of a house. The whole expenditure upon the mission of the Church of Scotland did not exceed £1,000 a year during the first three or four years he was in the country. Now £230,000 a year was raised in Scotland or by Scotsmen for missions. The church in which Dr. Duff died raises above £120,000, the United Presbyterian Church fully £60,000, and the Established Church of Scotland upwards of £50,000. On and around the platform were many distinguished Anglo-Indians, the career of each one of whom seems to be almost a romance. They had met to do honour to the memory not of a viceroy, of a general, or of a merchant, but of a boy born in that cottage, who supported himself at college by taking bursaries and acting as tutor; of a missionary who never had a bigger salary than £300 and a humble manse, who refused to take a bigger salary, who laboured for nothing, so far as

his own church was concerned, receiving a modest income from personal friends like Sir William Mackinnon, Mr. H. M. Matheson, and others; and who, when he passed away, handed the interest of the money on which he lived over to invalided missionaries of his own church, who were at that moment enjoying the benefit of it. Since the days of William Carey there has rarely been seen disinterestedness and self-sacrifice at all like those of Alexander Duff, the greatest Scotsman who ever went to India.

The Rev. R. W. BARBOUR, M.A., proprietor of Bonskeid and Fincastle, on behalf of the committee, thanked the owners of the ground for the beautiful, appropriate, and commanding site which they had cordially given for the Duff Memorial. What was meant by erecting such a monument as that which now graced the hillside beside the Established Church at Pitlochry? They had heard arguments derived from the past used by Sir William Muir; but the church or the cause which derived its inspiration only from the past was already pregnant with decay. A great controversy was going on in the world at present, and nowhere more than in Britain, as to the conduct of the enterprise of foreign missions. Never before had the subject been so canvassed, and not only now by men fighting against them, but, unfortunately, by some of their most honoured comrades. The motives of those who engage in this work, its aims, the endeavours that are made, the character of the agents, the conduct of the whole enterprise were called in question.

All who had assembled round that Celtic cross had already given an answer to those who asked a reason of the hope that was in them. Sir. W. Muir, looking at the young faces present, said he hoped that the lads passing from the village school to other seats of learning, catching sight of the inscription and the noble, earnest lineaments depicted, would catch something of the missionary contagion in their blood, and go from school to college, and from college to church, with the determination, under God, to serve Christ in the noblest enterprise under heaven—that of calling the heathen into His kingdom. He trusted that the mothers present—the Hannahs—looking on that monument, would dedicate their Samuels; and that the fathers—the Jesses—would send their Davids to help in the great battle between good and evil; and that from that little bit of ground beside the church vows of dedication would arise to the Most High, lives of high endeavour would be entered upon, and many would look back to the Celtic cross standing by the church in Pitlochry as not only to the gravestone or the monument of the great departed, but as to the baptismal font of their own best life. There, among the mountains which cradled him, and which afterwards rang to his voice, that Memorial should stand to celebrate all those, and to after ages, three mighty things accomplished—Scotland awakened, India enlightened, God glorified.

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